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ITALO-GREEK COINS

OF

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BY

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INTRODUCTION

One of the great advantages offered by the study of this series of Italian coins is the attainment of a clear perception of the relationship of the Roman coinage to that of ancient Greece.

Many students of Roman coins neglect the literature connected with Greek coinage and thus miss the pleasure of tracing the steps by which the Roman coinage was evolved from that of the more ancient and artistic civilization of Greece.

In this somewhat neglected corner of the numismatic field the student will not only find problems still unsolved but also many side lights which help to make more clear a somewhat dark and difficult page of history. To students and collectors whose means are limited this series offers the further advantage of a large number of coins which cost little money, and are easily obtained; moreover it is in connection with the types of the common coins that some of these interesting problems arise, and the relation between the Greek and Roman series may best be illustrated.

This series of coins throws much light on the deeply interesting subject of the gradual manner in which the Romans were brought into contact with the Greeks through their wars with the races of Southern Italy.

The chapters concerning the weight standards of ancient Italy are compiled from the works of Dr Haeblerlin, of Frankfort, to whom I am greatly indebted for several valuable letters concerning the arrangement of the information here given.

It is with the hope that the work will prove interesting, not only to students and collectors of the coins of Southern Italy, but also to readers of Livy and the other authors, who record the wars of the Romans with these tribes, that these chapters are now published in book form.

ITALO-GREEK COINS

OF

SOUTHERN ITALY

THE OSCAN ALPHABET ON THE COIN LEGENDS.

In order that the student of this series may read the legends on the coins it will be necessary to learn the forms of the letters adopted by the Oscan citizens of Southern Campania and by the Sabine citizens of the northern parts.

The most striking in their peculiarity are the letters for a, d, r, and ph, **𐌆 𐌇 𐌄** and **𐌈**.

The following alphabet will be found useful.

| | | | |
|-------|-----------------|----------|---------------------|
| a. | 𐌆, 𐌇. | l. | 𐌋, 𐌌, 𐌍. |
| b. | 𐌂, 𐌃. | m. | 𐌔 𐌕, 𐌖, III. |
| c. g. | 𐌔, 𐌕, C. | n. | 𐌗, N, 𐌘, 𐌙. |
| d. | 𐌆. | o. | O. |
| e. | 𐌈, E. | p. | 𐌒, 𐌓, 𐌔. |
| f. | 𐌒, 𐌓, 𐌔. | r. | 𐌔, 𐌕, D, 𐌆. |
| z. | 𐌔. | s. | 𐌘, 𐌙. |
| h. | 𐌗, H, 𐌘. | t. | 𐌙 𐌔. |
| th. | ⊗. | u. | 𐌕, 𐌖, 𐌗. |
| i. | 𐌙 𐌔. | ph or f. | 𐌈, (𐌔). |
| k. | 𐌘. | | |

We find almost all the varied forms of the letters here given on the coins of Campania, as for instance, on those of Hyria we have all three forms of "n", **𐌗 𐌗 𐌙** and also of "r" **𐌔 𐌆 𐌆**, and "a" **𐌆 𐌆** and of "v" **𐌕 𐌖 𐌕**. In the legends of Phistelia we find both forms of "s" **𐌘 𐌙** and of "ph" **𐌈 (𐌔)** and of "t" **𐌙 𐌔**. On the coins of Nuceria and Capua we find both forms of "f" **𐌒 𐌓**.

The points or dots in some examples of the letters Ṽ, as in the name Hyria, suggest that the pronunciation of the first syllable was like that of U with an O sound, for Strabo calls that city Οὔρειον, and the dot over I may have signified a sound intermediate between I and E.

This Oscan alphabet was also used by the Italian mints during the Social war.

Some legends are partly written in Oscan and partly in Greek letters, as for instance ΝΕΟΡΟΙΤΕΣ, and others all in Greek, as ΥΡΙΝΑ.

The people who used this form of alphabet were a native Italian race called by Strabo and other Greek writers the Ὀπυκτοί, and by the Latin writers Opici. The original form is preserved by Ennius who called them Opsci. They dwelt on the western side of the Appenines, in the country bounded on the South by the Cœnotrian territory, and on the North by that of the Samnites.

Their language was closely related to the Latin, of which it is an older and less mixed form. The ablative termination " d ", seen on the coin legends, is also found in the Duilian and other old Latin inscriptions. The Samnites or Sabines or Sabellians, who conquered and mixed with the Oscans, adopted their speech, as we see in the story told by Livy (X, 20), of how Volumnius overcame a victorious army of Samnites on the banks of the Volturnus when laden with spoils of Campania. He sent spies who could speak the Oscan language into their camp to learn their proposed movements.

The Samnites were of Sabine origin, as the Greek form of their name Σαυνίται implies, the letter b in the word Sabine being changed into v, Savnitæ or Safnitæ.

The coinage of the Sabine cities bears witness to their readiness to receive Greek traditions and art. Livy records their love of decorated weapons and bright uniforms for their armies. They were not simple mountaineers conquered by the armies of a cultured city, but rather they themselves were the cultured luxurious citizens conquered by the more simple and warlike Romans. As early as the year 400 B.C., or about that time, the Samnites had already settled in Cumæ and Palæopolis, the old part of Neapolis, and issued didrachms, wrought by Greek craftsmen; whereas the Romans did not issue silver coins until the year 268 B.C.

LIST OF THE CAMPANIAN CITIES WHICH ISSUED COINS.

| | Α. | Α. | Æ. |
|---------------------|----|--------------|--------------|
| 1 Campanos | | 400-380 B.C. | — |
| 2 Acerræ or Aurunca | | — | 270-250 B.C. |

| | A. | Æ. | Æ. |
|------------------------|----------|--------------|--------------|
| 3 Alliba | | 360-330 B.C. | — |
| 4 Atella | | — | 250-217 B.C. |
| 5 Caiatia | | — | 270 B.C. |
| 6 Calatia | | — | 260-210 B.C. |
| 7 Cales | | 280-268 B.C. | 280-240 B.C. |
| 8 Capua | 312 B.C. | 335-263 B.C. | 335-218 B.C. |
| 9 Compulteria | | — | 268-240 B.C. |
| 10 Hyria | | 400-325 B.C. | — |
| 11 Nola | | 360-320 B.C. | — |
| 12 Fensernia | | 380-335 B.C. | — |
| 13 Iruthia | | — | 300 B.C. |
| 14 Nuceria Alafaternum | | 280-268 B.C. | 260-240 B.C. |
| 15 Phistelia | | 380-350 B.C. | — |
| 16 Suessa | | 280-268 B.C. | 280-240 B.C. |
| 17 Teanum | | 282-268 B.C. | 282-268 B.C. |
| 18 Velechia | | — | 250-210 B.C. |
| 19 ROMANO series | 260-203 | 300-268 B.C. | 300-200 B.C. |

THE CAMPANIANS.

The coins of the Samnite or Oscan cities of Campania present us with the best imitations of Greek types, and from the importance of the events which took place in that region, and the abundance of the coins illustrating them, it will be an advantage to our study of the whole series if we begin with the coins of Campania. Very many of these types, especially those in bronze, are so common that they may be obtained by collectors and students with small means.

The history of the Samnite occupation of Campania is not recorded with any detail by the ancient writers. Velleius Paterculus wrote of an Etruscan people who ruled the plains, probably from Vulturnum, near the site afterwards called Capua; they were driven out by the Samnites about the year 438 B.C., according to others 424 B.C.

Niebuhr (Vol. I, cap. III), gives an interesting account of what the ancient writers said of the Ausonians, the old race displaced by the Samnites. Raoul Rochette in his 'Fouilles de Capua' (*Journal des Savants*, 1853), has mentioned Campanian traditions which seem to have an Etruscan origin, and Latinized forms of Etruscan names in inscriptions of Capua, as Felsinius—Velleius—Lartius—Maecenas—Volumnius. The Samnite invasion was facilitated by the quarrels and jealousies of the Greek colonies and the surrounding cities.

The remains of inscriptions and vases with graffiti in the Etruscan language may show merely that some Etruscans lived in the

plains, or that commercial relations with that race were common in early days. Diodorus of Sicily says, when, about 445 B.C. the Opici or Oscans conquered the former inhabitants they called the country Campania from their word for a plain, Campus. —

(XII, xxxi) “ When Theodorus was Archon of Athens the Romans nominated Marcus Genucius and Agrippa Curtius Chilon as Consuls. In this year there appeared in Italy the nation of the Campanians, so called on account of the fertility of the neighbouring plains ”. A later inroad of the same race from the mountains of Samnium took place according to Livy in 423 B.C. and three years later Cumæ fell into their hands. (IV, 37) “ Vulturnum, a city of the Etrurians, which is now Capua, was taken by the Samnites and was called Capua from their leader Capys, or what is more probable, from its fertile plains. ”

Doubts as to the accuracy of the histories of Livy and Diodorus have been expressed by Mommsen, Pais, Sambon and others, because the defeats and checks which the Romans evidently suffered are not mentioned, and the submissions of the Capuans and others are recorded at a date long before that submission appears probable from the evidence of the coinage.

The treaty concluded with Neapolis in 326 B.C. appears to have been correctly dated, and the abundance of the coins of that city shew how greatly the citizens advanced in commercial prosperity under their conquerors. The influence of Neapolis in the Campanian cities was naturally great, for its port brought together merchants from Syracuse, Rhodes and Alexandria. The Campanian cities of the plains found there an outlet for the produce of the rich soil ; Capua, Calatia, Atella and Compulteria sent their produce to that port, while Nuceria, Alfaterna, Nola and Acerræ used the little port of Pompei. These cities all used the Oscan letters in the legends of their coins, but all shewed in their types the influence of Greek artists.

It is probable that traces of monetary conventions may be seen in the types of two series of coins ; one, bearing on the Obverse a head of Pallas and on the Reverse a cock, was used on the trade routes of Campania, Latium and Samnium, while another series, bearing on the Obverse a head of Apollo, and on the Reverse a man-headed bull, was used by the cities connected with Neapolis.

Probably about the year 400 B.C. the Samnites became strong enough to unite in a confederacy which was known as that of the *Kάμπανιοι*. The didrachms which bear the legend *KΑΜΠΑΝΟΜ* are probably evidence of such a confederation of Samnites settled in the plains near Neapolis. From their style and fabric they must have been issued between 400 and 380 B.C. from the mints of either Cumæ or Neapolis, for their types are copied from those of these cities. No names of leaders or rulers of these early Samnites

are recorded, and probably no one man was sufficiently powerful to make for himself a name in history. Formerly it used to be thought that Capua was the city from which these didrachms were issued, and this was the opinion of Pellerin, Eckhel, Raoul Rochette, Dr Head and Millingen, but that Cumæ or Neapolis issued these coins is now the opinion of Avellino, Imhoof-Blumer, A. Sambon, De Petra, and others.

As these didrachms are generally found in a much worn condition it is probable that they were in circulation for a much longer period than the twenty years between 400 and 380 B.C.

They were being issued at an eventful period, for in the year 400 B.C. the Ten Thousand returned from Asia, and Socrates died in the year following. In 395 B.C. Plato returned to Athens, and Xenophon was at Scillus composing his works from about 393.

In 384 Aristotle was born, and two years afterwards Demosthenes. In 380 B.C. Isocrates wrote his Panegyricus. During this period from 397 B.C. Dionysius was waging war with the Carthaginians, and the Lucanians were advancing against the Greek colonial cities of the South of Italy in alliance with that Tyrant, who died in 367 B.C. After 380 B.C. as the coins bearing **KAMΨANOM** seem to have been no longer issued, it is probable that the confederacy was no longer a power, and the cities of Campania began to issue their own special coinage.

It is difficult to trace the boundaries of Campania in the earlier days of the Confederacy, or to say when the boundaries mentioned by Strabo and the later writers were fixed, but probably at first the plains near Capua and Cumæ alone were included, and the hill country round Suessa. Cales and Teanum was later included in the region called Campania.

Virgil, Cicero, Pliny, Florus, Strabo and Polybius have all written of the beauty and fertility of Campania, describing it as the fairest portion of Italy, the land of delight and prosperity.

The enervating effects of wealth made the inhabitants an easy prey to those hardy mountaineers who drove out the Etruscans, and who in their turn fell before the armies of Rome. Neapolis fell in 326, Nola in 313, Nuceria in 308. In 304 the Romans were the conquerors of Campania, and their second Samnite War came to an end.

Pyrrhus had passed through the country without obtaining any hold, but Hannibal was more successful, and after the battle of Cannæ in 216 B.C. took several cities, Atella, Capua, Calatia, Nuceria and Acerræ. After 212 B.C. the Carthaginians lost their hold on Campania, and under the Roman dominion the land enjoyed prosperity for many long years.

CAMPANIAN DIDRACHMS FROM 400-380 B.C.

Before describing the coins it will be interesting to notice the legend **ΚΑΜΠΑΝΟΜ**.

It was regarded by Mommsen as a genitive plural to be compared with the legend **ROMANOM** on coins of Capua. A. Sambon suggests that the last letter may be a sigma placed on its side, as on so many coins of Magna Graecia.

The rude legend **ΣΟΙΑΠΛΑ** (*sic*) is found on a coin at Munich.

In the British Museum there is a coin with the legend **ΚΑΜΠΑΝΟΝ**, the nominative neuter with ἀργύριον understood. It may be compared with the same termination on coins of Nola and Cumæ, **ΝΩΛΑΙΟΝ**, **ΚΥΜΑΙΟΝ**, and on the coins of those cities we also find **ΝΩΛΑΙΟΣ** and **ΚΥΜΑΙΟΣ**.

On some coins at London, Paris, Berlin, Florence, and Naples the legend appears as **ΟΙΑΠΜΑΗ** with **Μ** underneath (a sigma), the letter **Η** replacing the guttural **Κ** or **Υ**.

In the legend **ΚΑΡΠΑΝΟΜ** the **Μ** is assimilated to the **Π** as in many instances such as **ΛΑΡΠΑΙΟΝ** for **ΛΑΜΠΑΙΟΝ**.

I. Didrachm. Obverse. Head of Pallas to right, wearing Athenian helmet with crest, and decorated with a wreath of olive-leaves composed of a twig with a side-shoot at the back. Sometimes under the head is a letter, as **A** or **N**.

Reverse. A man-headed bull walking to right with the head held level with the back; before him, or under him, a marsh bird with long neck and bill. The base composed of a double line.

Above the bull the legend either **ΟΙΟΠΜΑΗ**, or **ΚΑΡΠΑΙΟ** with **Μ** before the bull or **ΣΟΙΑΠΛΑ**, or **ΚΑΜΠΑΝΟΜ**, or **ΚΑΜΠΑΝΟΝ**.

In the Naples Museum is a specimen with the bull walking to left and a fish in the exergue.

II. Obverse. Head of a Nymph to right, similar to those on the later coins of Cumæ.

Reverse. Man-headed bull running to right with off fore-foot raised from the ground on base formed with a double line.

Above the bull the legend **ΚΑΡΠΑΝΟΣ**, below the bull a serpent with its head to right; specimens of this type are to be seen at Berlin, Paris and Naples.

The weights vary from about 114 to 118 grains.

No bronze coins bearing this legend appear to have been issued.

AURUNCA or ACERRAE.

Small bronze coins are found in Campania, in size $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch, bearing on the Obverse a head of Apollo laureate, to left, and on the Reverse a dolphin to left. The legend is partly in the field above, and partly below the dolphin, and the upper line is partly illegible on all known specimens, but the lower legend is generally clear $\Sigma\P\P\chi\chi\eta\eta$. This word has been interpreted by Mr. A. Sambon as the name Maccius, probably that of a magistrate. The name is rare but has been found on an inscription in Pompei. It is said to be also written Magidius or Makdiis.

In the British Museum Catalogue, p. 75, these coins are attributed to Aurunca, and this attribution is also given in Dr B. V. Head's *Hist. Num.*, p. 26.

The legend above the dolphin is read as ΑΥΚΝΥΔΥΝ (Auruncud). Very similar is the reading of the legend, on a specimen in the Kircher Museum at Rome, by Garrucci ΜΙΧΚΝΥΡΥΝ . That writer also attributes these coins to Aurunca.

Avellino, reading the legend as Makriis, thought it might signify the little town Marcina near Amalfi, but this is probably a mistaken reading of a poor specimen. Millingen's attribution of these coins to Arpi, or Salapia, is extremely improbable. Löbbecke and Dressel thought these coins were issued from Neapolis, but they founded their opinion on a specimen restruck on a coin of that city, on which part of that name was visible.

Mr. A. Sambon attributes these coins to Acerræ (Acerra), because, on some specimens, the upper legend appears to be ΙΟΚΚΝ , or ΥΔΝΚΝ or ΛΔΚΝ or ΥΚΚΝ or ΜΙΔΝΔΚΝ or Μ---ΝΥΚΝ .

Until a specimen is found in a condition sufficiently perfect to make certain of the reading we can only conjecture what it may have been.

When we try to judge from the history of these two cities, Acerræ and Aurunca, which city was more likely to have issued these coins, our judgment as to the time of their issue becomes of the greatest importance.

Aurunca was the chief city of the Aurunci, a branch of the Ausones; the two names are the same, the letter "r" in the former name being often changed from the "s" of the latter.

We learn this from Servius, in his notes on *Æn.* VII, 727, and also from Dion Cassius (p. 2).

Festus also tells us the name was derived from Auson, the son of Ulysses and Circe, the founder of the city Aurunca. Livy relates that the city was destroyed about 337 B. C. by the Sidicini, and

that the refugees fled to Suessa, which was afterwards called Suessa Aurunca.

According to Mr. A. Sambon the coins bearing the dolphin were issued between 270 and 250 B. C. ; if this is the period of their issue they cannot have been minted at Aurunca.

H. Bunbury said the city was never rebuilt, but perhaps he inferred that from the silence of historians in regard to any later notices of the city. The story of its fall is told by Livy (VIII, 15).

Some traces of its ruins may be seen on the summit of a mountain ridge, now called La Serva or La Cortinella, about five miles north of Suessa.

The highest part of the hill on which the ruins stand, Monte di Santa Croce, is 3,200 feet above the sea. Virgil alludes to this height in *Aen.*, VII, 727 “ et quos de collibus altis Aurunci misere patres Sidicinaeque juxta aequora ” “ to Turnus, lo a thousand tribes he leads, those who on Massic hills the vineyards tend, those whom Auruncans from their mountains send ”. Abeken has described the ruins in the *Ann. d. Inst.*, 1839, p. 199-206.

If the legend **WIKNYQYN** were well established the question would arise as to whether it signified the name of the city or of the tribe, and as we have Suessa Aurunca so we might have Acerræ Aurunca.

ACERRAE

Acerrae Ἀκέρραι or Acerranus was situated about eight miles north-east of Naples, and the village on the site is still called Acerra.

In 332 B.C. it obtained the Roman “civitas”. Livy says “The Acerrani were enrolled as Romans, in conformity with a law introduced by the Praetor Lucius Papirius, by which the right of citizenship with out the privilege of suffrage was conferred” (VIII, 17).

In the Second Punic war Acerra was besieged by Hannibal in 216 B.C., and when the citizens fled it was plundered and burnt. When the Carthaginians were expelled the citizens returned, and rebuilt the city with the consent of the Roman Senate.

From the history of this city, according to Livy, it seems much more probable that the coins with the dolphin type were issued from its mint rather than from that of Aurunca. (Livy, XXIII, 17; XXVII, 3.) Eckhel referred these coins to Acerra.

Specimens are to be seen in the Museums of London, Paris, Berlin, Naples, Rome (Kircher) and they are found in small collections.

ALLIBA

The site of Alliba or Allifæ, a city of the Samnites, situated at the foot of the mountain range called Monte Mantese, is now occupied by villagers who still call their home Alife. A great part of the old walls and gates still remain, with some ruins of a theatre and amphitheatre and considerable remains of public baths built on an extensive scale. Some of these are probably ruins of the time of Hadrian, but the city must have been of greater importance than the few notices by Livy would lead us to expect. Its coins consist of a few rare didrachms and considerable numbers of obols bearing types which show the intimate relations the Samnite citizens held with Nola and Neapolis. Allifæ was about fifteen miles east of Teanum, near the river Volturnus, and about twenty miles south of Æsernia, with which city it is mentioned by Strabo (V, 3, 10) “Æsernia and Allifæ, are cities of the Samnites; the former was

destroyed in the Marsian war, the other still remains". Allifæ is about twenty miles north-east of Capua. Although it is just outside the borders of Campania in our ancient atlases it was enumerated among the cities of Campania by Pliny (III, 5,9) and by Silius Italicus (VIII, 537).

At the beginning of the Second Samnite war in 326 B.C. the city fell into the hands of the Romans. Livy says : " Three towns fell into their hands, Allifæ, Callifæ and Ruffrium, and the adjoining country was laid waste " (VIII, 25). The Romans however : seem to have lost it soon afterwards, for we read in Livy (IX, 38) that in 310 B.C. " during these transactions in Etruria the other Consul C.M. Rutilus took Allifæ by storm from the Samnites, and many of their forts and smaller towns were either destroyed or surrendered uninjured ". Three years later Livy tells us : " Quintus Fabius, proconsul, fought a pitched battle with the armies of the Samnites near the city of Allifæ. The victory was complete, the enemy were driven from the field and pursued to their camp, nor would they have kept possession of that had not the day been almost spent ". Next morning the Samnites capitulated and passed under the yoke with one garment each (IX, 42).

During the Second Punic War Hannibal passed by Allifæ on his way into Campania (Livy, XXII, 13) and again in 213 B.C. he pitched his camp in the country around (XXII, 17), while Fabius pitched his on the hill above the city. We nowhere read of the destruction of the city, and it is evident that it rose again into a prosperous condition as soon as the Punic wars were ended, and continued to prosper throughout the Imperial period.

Dr. B.V. Head in the *Hist. Num.*, says the coins of Allifæ are all of the first half of the fourth century B.C.; they were therefore issued before the city fell into the hands of the Romans.

The obols are found in many small collections, and although barbarous as works of art are interesting as evidences of the attempts of the natives to learn from the Greeks not only the art of coining money but also the traditions and myths associated with their coinage.

The appearance of Scylla on these obols, and the bull with a human head on the few rare didrachms, the obverse of which is copied from the coins of Nola, caused many numismatists to regard them as coins issued from some site near the sea. Millingen thought that the very name on the coins was to be connected with the region near Cumæ, because Suidas thus interprets the word Alibas " Ἀλίβας ὁ νεκρὸς ἢ ποταμὸς ἐν ἄδου ".

The word is used of sapless, lifeless, dead, by Plato (Rep. 387 C.) and, in a fragment of Sophocles 751, the name is used of the Styx, the river of the dead. Avellino noted that there is a mountain called

Ollibanus near Puteoli, and regarded that name as a corruption of Alibas.

Lenormant considered Alibas to have been a colony of Cumæ. Friedländer, L. Sambon, and Garrucci all agreed with this idea that Alibas was near Cumæ, but there is nothing strange in the appearance of Scylla in a city at such a short distance from the sea.

The choice of maritime types at the Samnian Alife is probably due to its commerce with the maritime cities of Campania which was assisted by the river Volturnus.

The city of Cumæ continued to have commerce with the neighbourhood long after the occupation by the Samnites.

The coin which bears the dolphins around the head on the obverse probably indicates the influence of Syracuse, for after the repulse of the Athenian armies the Syracusans ruled or influenced all the country as far north as Alifæ. It would be interesting to find any evidence of association with Alifæ in the name added to Nuceria — Alafaterna.

DIDRACHMS.

Three examples of Didrachms may be seen, one at Naples, in the Santangelo collection, one in the Vatican at Rome, and another in the Cabinet at Berlin, which was found at Piedmonte d'Alife.

Obv. Similar to that of the coins of Hyria: Head of Pallas wearing crested Athenian helmet decorated with wreath of olive on which an owl is perched.

Rev. Man-headed bull walking to left, head in profile erect: above **ΑΛΙΟΗΑ**.

OBOLS.

I. Obv. Head of Apollo to right, laureate, around the head three dolphins: a border of dots.

Rev. **ΑΛΛΙΒΑΝΟΝ** above the type, Scylla to right holding in the lowered right hand a cuttle-fish, and in the extended left a shell, or a fish; beneath a mussel-shell.

II. Obv. Head of Apollo to left, laureate, in front the legend **ΑΛΛΙΒΑ**.

Rev. Scylla similar to no I, but above and below a swan with wing extended to right.

Mr. A. Sambon regards these swans as symbols of the demons of the sea (*θαλάσσης δαίμονες*).

III. Obv. Male head, laureate and bearded, probably representing Glaucus, sometimes in front, a dolphin: border of dots.

Rev. Similar to no I.

IV. Obv. Head of Pallas to right wearing crested Corinthian helmet.

Rev. Scylla holding rudder in right hand, the left hand lowered in front.

There are many specimens of the obols bearing hybrid inscriptions, with Greek and Oscan letters, such as **ΥΛΛΙΒΑΝΟΝ**, **ΑΛΛΙΒΑΝΟΝ**, **ΑΛΙΒΑΝΟΝ**, **ΛΛΒΛΙΟΝ ΜΒΙΟΗ**.

HEMIOBOLS.

Obv. Head of a lion to right, the mouth open : border of dots.

Rev. The legend **ΝΙΙΒΝ** interrupted by the sign **Ι**.

This coin is known to have been in the collections of Tuzzi of Naples, Braun of Rome, and in that of the Duc de Luynes, but its present location is not now known.

ATELLA

This ancient Samnite city was situated about eight miles from Capua on the road to Neapolis, and was intimately connected with Capua. Some writers have pointed out the evidences of Etruscan culture in Campania. Atella was famous for the farces or "ludi Osci" which are said to have been of Etruscan origin.

They were introduced to Rome in the year 363 B.C., at a time of pestilence, and consisted of pantomimic dances to the music of a flute. Livy says (VII, 2) that from the Atellan farces were derived the "exodia", received from the Osci, which the young Romans kept to themselves and did not allow regular players to perform. Hence the actors of the Atellan farce were not degraded from their tribe, and were allowed to serve in the army as having no connection with the stage. This introduction of farces from Atella is the earliest notice of the city we have. Atella is often mentioned by Livy with Calatia, which was only about five miles from Capua, and seven from Atella. The coins of these two cities appear to have been issued about the same time, that is, during the last half of the period of the first Punic war up till the time when these cities were taken by the Romans in 211 B.C. The year 250 B.C. was the fifteenth of the first Punic war, and this is about the date when the mint of Atella was first opened. Three years later Hannibal was born, and Hamilcar Barca ravaged the coasts of Italy. The Romans were occupied from 238 with their wars with the Boii and the Ligurians, and then from 225 to 222 B. C. in their war with the Gauls. The second Punic war began in 218 B. C., and from that time the Romans came frequently into the district round Atella. These wars with Ligurians, Gauls and Carthaginians, occupied the Romans, and left Atella and Calatia free to issue their own coinage. After the disastrous defeat at Cannæ in 216 B. C., Livy says (XXII, 61): "The following peoples revolted to the Carthaginians: the Atellani, the Calatini, some of the Apulians, &c".

When Capua, Atella, and Calatia fell into the hands of the Romans in 211 B. C. Quintus Flaccus allowed some Campanians to go to Rome and plead for their lives before the Senate.

Livy (XXVI, 33) tells the story of their pleading that many

of their senators had been slain, and that many were intermarried with Roman families. Then M. Atilius Regulus bore witness that two women especially had deserved well of the State, Vestia Oppia, a, native of Atella, who had dwelt at Capua, and Faucula Cluvia, formerly a common woman (*quæ quondam quaestum corpore fecisset*). The former had daily offered sacrifice for the success of the Romans, and the latter had clandestinely supplied the starving prisoners with food.

The Senate ordered their goods and liberty to be restored to Oppia and Cluvia; as to the others they were punished in various ways and degrees. The Atellanians and Calatians were to be freed but none could become a Roman citizen, or a Latin confederate, and a place was assigned to them beyond the Tiber. The goods of the Atellanians should be sold in Capua, and their images and brazen statues should be referred to the college of Pontiffs. The keen sense of their enmity to Rome is seen in the lines of Silius Italicus (XI, 14): "Now Atella, now Calatia, their sense of right being overcome by fear, caused their cohorts to pass over to the Camp of the Carthaginians".

Atella seems to have prospered after this terrible time of desolation, for in Cicero's time it was a flourishing town and enjoyed his special protection (*Cic., De leg. Agr.*, II, 31: *Ad fam.*, XIII, 7: *Ad Q. Frat.*, II, 14).




The coins all bear Oscan legends showing the native name Aderle. The types are similar to those of Capua, and probably allude to the victories gained by the Romans over Pyrrhus, and to the "foedus æquum" made with Rome.

The elephant Rev. type on the coins of Atella may be compared with the similar type on those of Capua, and may be connected with the head of an elephant mentioned by Pausanias as preserved in the temple of Diana near Capua (V, XII, 1)

We know nothing of the state of the city during the war with Pyrrhus, but as he passed through Campania on his retreat from Latium in 280 B. C., the country round Atella would suffer all the misery inflicted by an invading army in those days, and their loyalty to Rome would be strengthened.

BRONZE COINS OF ATELLA.

TRIENS.

1. Size 1.25. Obv. Head of Zeus, to right, laureated; behind 
Rev.  in Oscan letters  (aderle). Zeus in a

quadriga driven by Nike to right, hurling a fulmen and holding a sceptre. In the exergue ○○○○ : a border of dots.



SEXTANS.

2. Size 1.1. Obv. Same type, but with ○ : border of dots.

Rev. Same legend, in exergue.

Two warriors facing one another, holding swords in their raised right hands, and with their left hands on a pig : in field, ○ : border plain.

UNCIA.



3. Size .75. Obv. Bust of Helios full-faced, wearing dress fastened in front with large brooch; in field to left ✱.

Rev. ΕΡΝ, in exergue. Elephant to right. Specimens in the Museums of London, Paris and Naples.

4. Size .8. Obv. Head of Jupiter, laureated, to right; behind •

Rev. Victory standing to right, crowning a trophy : in field to right •

In exergue : ΠΕΡΝ; border of fine dots, specimens in the Museums of Berlin, Paris and Naples.

CAIATIA

The modern name of this city is Cajazzo; it is situated on the right bank of the river Volturnus, near to Suessa, about ten miles N. E. of Capua.

The city fell into the power of the Romans before the year 306 B.C. Its position, on the via Latina, assured it of a certain commercial importance to which its coinage bears witness, for the types, a head of Pallas and a cock, show that it was a member of a commercial convention on the borders of Latium and Samnium, about 270 B.C. It was under the walls of this city that the Roman army was encamped before it was drawn by the Samnites into the celebrated defile of Caudium. Inscriptions found on the site show that it was a municipium of some importance during the Empire. On this site a very rich deposit of gold coins of the Republic was found about 30 years ago. On the confusion of this name with Calatia by Livy confer the notes on the history of that city.

In Diodorus Siculus (XX, LXXX) and Livy (IX, 43) this city is mentioned together with Sora, which is more than fifty miles to the north.

Diodorus says : "In Italy the Samnites took by assault the cities of Sora and Atia, allied to the Romans, and reduced the citizens to slavery."

Livy says : "In Samnium also in consequence of the departure of Fabius new commotions arose. Calatia and Sora, and the Roman garrisons stationed there, were taken, and extreme cruelty was exercised toward the captive soldiers : Publius Cornelius was therefore sent thither with an army."

Mommsen has suggested that for Calatia here we should read Caiatia (*C.I.L.*, 10 p.). The events spoken of happened in the year 306 B.C.

Bronze Coins of Caiatia.

Size $\frac{7}{8}$ inch. Obv. Head of Pallas to left wearing Corinthian helmet with crest : border of dots.

Rev. A cock standing to right; behind, in the field, a star of eight

rays; before it, the legend in perpendicular line **CAIATINO**. Specimens are in the museums at Paris, Naples, Berlin and Milan.

Sometimes the legend is retrograde **ONITAIAC** and sometimes the letters are formed thus **CAIATINΩ** (*sic*). No specimen is found in the British Museum. Only this one type is known.

CALATIA

Calatia was a Samnite city situated about five miles to the south-east of Capua, on the via Appia. Like Atella it was intimately connected with Capua, whose fortunes and misfortunes it shared.

The types of its coins, all of bronze, were copied from those of Capua, bearing the head of Jupiter, and were issued about the same time as those of Atella, between 250 B.C. and the fall of the city into the hands of the Romans in 211 B.C. The site of Calatia still shows some remains of the Roman buildings and is now occupied by the little town called Galazze. In the works of Livy the name Calatia is at least five times put for Caiatia, probably through the mistakes of copyists.


The following passages have been pointed out XXII, 13, XXIII, 14, IX, 43, IX, 48, IX, 2.


The city whose coins bear the legend Calatia **KNI NTI** in Oscan letters is referred to by Livy in XXII, 61, XXVI, 16, 34, XXVII, 3. Strabo speaks of Calatia as still flourishing in his day.

The old name was still retained in the XIIth century in the title of a church called S. Maria ad Calatium. The story of its fall is given together with that of Atella in the chapter on that city which shared its fate.

Bronze Coins of Calatia.


TRIENS (260-210 B.C.).

I. Size 1. Obv. Laureate bearded head of Jupiter to right;
behind 

Rev. Jupiter in a quadriga galloping to right hurling a fulmen and holding in his hand a sceptre; beneath the horses .

In exergue : **KNI NTI**; border of fine dots. Fairly good style of art.

Specimens in the Cabinet at Naples.

II. Size 1. Obv. Same type, but mediocre style, and with 
behind the head.

Rev. Diana driving a biga to right with both hands on the reins, above the horses, two stars. In the exergue **ITN̄N̄X**. Plain border.

Specimens in the Museums at London and Paris.

III. Size 1. Obv. Same type and style as last.

Rev. Jupiter in a biga galloping to right, hurling fulmen and holding sceptre and reins. Specimens in Museums at Paris, Naples and Berlin.

UNCIA.

IV. Size .8. Obv. Laureated head of Jupiter to right; behind • : border of fine dots.

Rev. A horse galloping, free, to right; underneath •. In the exergue **ITN̄N̄X**.

Specimens are in the Museums at Paris and Naples, but not in the British Museum.

V. Size 8. Obv. Laureated head of Jupiter to right; behind the head ✱ : border of fine dots.

Rev. Victory standing to right erecting a trophy; in the exergue **ITN̄N̄K**.

VI. Size. 8. Obv. Same type as last.

Rev. Head of a trident to left, **TN̄N̄X** : border of fine dots.

This uncia is of reduced weight and mediocre style. Specimens are in the Museums at Berlin, and Naples. *Confer* Millingen, *Anc. Coins*, 1. 3. and Cavedoni, *Bull. Inst.*, 1850, p. 198.

CALES

Cales was situated on a branch of the Via Latina which led from Teanum direct to Casilinum, and there joined the Appian way; it was rather more than five miles distant from Teanum, and above seven from Casilinum, on the banks of the river Volturnus, about fourteen miles from the sea; and eleven N. of Capua. It was one of the cities of the Ausones, and according to Festus was founded in the legendary times of Homeric story. He says: "Auson, the son of Ulysses and Calypso, called that first part of Italy Ausonia, in which are the cities of Beneventum and Cales... by whom also they say the city Aurunca was founded."

Silius Italicus (VIII, 514) ascribes its foundation to Calais, the son of Boreas who carried off Oreithyia, and by her became the father of Calais, Zetes, and Cleopatra, the wife of Phineus, who are therefore called Boreades. Virgil mentions Cales (*Aen.*, VII, 728) in his description of the men led to Turnus: "Lo a thousand tribes he leads, some from the Massic hills, some from Aurunca, from Sidicinum,... from Cales, from Volturnus' shoals they wend, from steep Saticulum the sturdy swain, fierce for the fray, comes down and joins the Oscan train."

Livy (VIII, 16) relates the story of the capture of the city by the Romans in 332 B.C. and of their being assisted by M. Fabius, a Roman prisoner, who escaped from the walls by a rope when all the Calenians were feasting, and told the general what an opportune moment had arrived for the attack. An immense amount of booty was taken, and the legions returned to Rome, where a triumph was awarded to the Consul by the Senate, and 2,500 colonists were sent to occupy the lands of Cales under Caeso Duilius, Titus Quinctius, and Marcus Fabius as commissioners (Arnold, *Hist. Rom.*, II, p. 175). From that date Cales was a Roman city; in 214 it was the head-quarters of the Consular army, and though often attacked by Samnites and Carthaginians, it was never taken. In 209 B.C. it was one of the twelve cities which declared themselves unable to supply men or money (Livy, XXVII, 9): Suessa was in the same condition. At a later date they were punished by the imposition of heavy taxes (XXIX, 15).

In the days of Cicero we find Cales a flourishing municipium enjoying the special favour and protection of that great man (Cic., *De Leg. Agr.*, II, 31, *Ad. Fam.*, IX, 13, *Ad Attic.*, VII, 14.)

Cales was the birth-place of M. Vinicius, the son-in-law of Germanicus, and patron of Velleius Paterculus. The prosperity of the city was due to the fertility of the land around, which was near the famous "Falernus ager". Horace mentions "the grapes squeezed in the Calenian press" (*Od.* I. 20.9.) and the "molle Calenum" is spoken of by Juvenal (*Sat.* I, 69). The city was also noted for the manufacture of agricultural implements, and of earthenware vessels called Calenæ (Cato, *De agric.*, 135) the "Campana supellex" of Horace (*Sab.* I VI, 118), and the "Campana trulla" (*Sat.* II, III, 144). The coinage does not appear to have been issued before 280 B.C. A few years ago a small deposit was found which was buried about the year 270 B.C.; in this were coins of both Neapolis and Cales, those of this latter city were almost in perfect condition while those of Naples were somewhat worn.

The head of Pallas on the silver coins seems to have been copied from that on the gold coins of Pyrrhus, struck probably at Syracuse about 276 B.C.

The reverse type of Nike in a biga has been compared with a vase in the Canessa collection.

Garrucci considered the bronze coins to be older than the silver because on them the letter L is always seen with the angle acute (ℓ), but that is not a sign of date to be implicitly trusted.

SILVER COINS (280-268 B.C.)¹.

1. Obv. Head of Pallas to left, wearing a crested Corinthian helmet and decorated with jewellery; behind the head an owl. The helmet is adorned with feathers fixed by an ornament in the form of a serpent. Other symbols behind the head are found as follows: a cornucopiæ, a pentagon, a rudder, a wine-cup, a trophy, a palm-branch, a club.

Rev. Nike driving in a biga to left, holding reins in left hand, and the whip in the right lowered; in the exergue **CALENO**.

2. Obv. Same but with the head to right, and a symbol, as a wing behind, two wings, a fulmen, a tripod, a cornucopiæ, branch of laurel, a snake, a sheathed sword, a torch, a club, a bow, a helmet, an Argive buckler, a Boeotian buckler, a sword, a trident, the letter O, or the head of a spear.

1. The didrachms of Cales, when not in finest state, may be obtained under 20/.

Rev. The same but the whip in the right hand raised and the reins in the left lowered.

The inscription on the coins, **CALENO**, has generally been considered as a shortened form of the genitive plural **CALENOM** or **CALENORVM**. M. Sambon however suggests that it may be the ablative singular, because we find this was the case in the legends Akudunniad, Aquino, Arimno, Beneventod, Calatino, Suessano,



Tianud; and it seems strange to look upon some as ablatives and others as genitives when we know those ending in "d" were ablatives.

The head of Pallas wearing a Corinthian helmet had appeared on didrachms of Velia, Heracleia, Croton, Metapontum and Cumæ; also on obols of Neapolis and Cumæ, on bronze coins of the Frentanians, of Telesia, and Aquinum. It was therefore a popular type copied from the coinage of the Greek cities of the South.

THE BRONZE COINS.

The bronze coins of Cales are very common and are found in most small collections; they witness to two monetary conventions, namely, that with the northern cities bearing a cock as the Rev. type, and that with the southern cities bearing a man-headed bull on the Rev.

The coins bearing the cock are thought by Blanchet to have influenced the design of the Gallic coinage (*Traité des monnaies gauloises*, p. 192).

COINS WITH THE HEAD OF PALLAS AND **℞**. A COCK.

These coins were probably issued about the year 270 B.C. some time after the Roman victories in Southern Italy. Tarentum had submitted in 272 and Rhegium had been taken in 271 B. C. Two years afterwards the Romans began to issue their first silver denarii. These coins were issued six years before the first Punic war began.

I. PALLAS TYPE.

Size : $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. Perhaps Litra.

Obv. Head of Pallas to left wearing Corinthian helmet with plume : border of dots.



Rev. A cock standing to right ; in front, **CAVENO** or **CAVENO** ; behind, a star with eight rays : border of dots. On some specimens the letter **A** or **A** is found behind the head of Pallas on the Obv. and **CAVENO** before the head, while on the Rev. only **A** or **A** appears before the cock.

II. COINS BEARING THE HEAD OF APOLLO AND ON **R**.

A MAN-HEADED BULL.

These coins appear to have been issued a little earlier than the former series and from about 280 to 208 B.C., that is from the time of the arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy, until the twelfth year of the second Punic war when Hasdrubal was defeated.

280-268 B.C.

Size : $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. Litra?

Obv. A head of Apollo laureated sometimes to right, sometimes to left. In front of the head the legend **CAVENO**. Behind the head various symbols are found, as for instance : an ear of corn, a club,



spear-head, a fulmen, a figure of Nike bearing a wreath, a helmet, a vase, a sword, a bunch of grapes, a cantharus, a serpent, an amphora, sprig of laurel, triquetra, cornucopiæ, a cock, a bird, an aplustre, a dolphin.

Rev. A man-headed bull to right with head facing. The following symbols occur above the bull : a lyre, with a star under the bull. Under the bull the following letters are found **Α Β Γ Δ Η Ι Θ Λ Μ Π Τ Υ Ο, Ι Σ.**

In the exergue **CAIENO.**

III. TYPES WITH A STAR (260-268 B.C.).

Same size.

Obv. Head of Apollo, laureated, to left; before the head **CAIENO** : border of dots. Behind the head a star generally, but on some, a sword, or a club.

On these the star is found on the **℞.** under the bull. When the star is on the Obv. a letter is found under the bull : **ΑΓΑΘΟΚΥΝΡ.**

On one specimen a small star is on the Obv. and a large star above the bull on the **℞.** In the Cabinet de France is a specimen without a symbol.

IV. THE BULL CROWNED BY VICTORY (260-240 B.C.).

Obv. Head of Apollo, laureated, to left; no legend.

Rev. Man-headed bull to right, crowned by a figure of Victory flying in the air above.

In the exergue **CAIENO** : border of dots. On some specimens a buckler is behind the head of Apollo, and on others the letter **N.**

CAPUA

The history of Capua is interesting in many ways, for its earliest legends are connected with the old Etruscan race which founded the city called by them Vulturnum, and during the period of its greatest prosperity it was one of the avenues by which the Romans came into contact with Greek art and thought. The Samnite or Oscan people called Campanians who made the city powerful were strong enough to retain their municipal independence during a period of strife lasting more than a hundred and fifty years. Although during part of that time its lands were cultivated by Roman colonists, and for five years it was in the hands of the Carthaginians under Hannibal, yet the mint was in the citizen's own hands, and their coins bore Oscan letters from 268-218 B.C. They were civilized enough to hold friendly relations with the Greek cities of the South of Italy, and strong enough to be acknowledged the chief city of Campania. Capua owed its prosperity partly to its favourable position, at the foot of mount Tifata, on a very fertile plain about fifteen miles north of Neapolis, and about two miles south of the river Vulturnus.

The historians Livy and Diodorus have left us most interesting accounts of the various fortunes of Capua, but in regard to chronology and fairness of treatment they fail to satisfy modern demands. Livy relates that the city fell into the hands of the Samnites about 423 B.C. but Diodorus speaks of the rise of the Campanian people as beginning seventeen years earlier. When the first Samnite War began in 343 B.C., Livy described Capua as being at that time "*urbs maxima opulentissimaque Italiae*" (VII, 31).

In that year the Capuans asked the Sidicini to help them to resist an invasion of Samnites, and soon afterwards appealed to the Romans for assistance. Very full details of their request are given by Livy in book VII, 30. They then called themselves Campanians, and hence as Capua was the chief city of Campania the earlier numismatists attributed the coins with the legend **KAMPAÑOM** to that city. These coins were issued between 400 and 380 B.C. before the Romans had begun to influence the Capuans, and at

a time when the influence of the mints of Neapolis and Cumæ was predominant among the Campanians. At that time it is not probable that Capua had attained its position as head of the cities of Campania, and though these coins bearing **KAMFANOM** were no doubt current coins in Capua, it is not likely that they were issued from its mint.

PERIOD OF THE ROMAN DOMINION (330-264 B.C.).

When the Romans broke up the Latin confederacy in 330 B.C. Capua was punished for its accession to it by the loss of its territory, which was divided by the Senate into portions consisting of three jugera to each settler. It was through these settlers that the strife arose with the citizens of Neapolis which ended in the fall of that city.

Six years later the second Samnite war arose, and when the Romans were victorious in 320 B.C. the Samnite leader Caius Pontius would not agree to their terms. He had taken the place of Brutulus Papius, who slew himself rather than be given up to the Romans. The father of C. Pontius had been a friend of Archytus of Tarentum, and some say he had held discussions with Plato. This Pontius was probably a more cultured man than any of the Roman generals, and shewed his generosity and nobleness of character in the way in which he treated the defeated army of the Romans at Caudium. The influence of Greek artists in the Capuan mint at this time is not so surprising when we realize the friendship of Papius with the Tarentines.

The Roman party in Capua in 320 B.C. was strong enough to enable them to receive the fugitives from Caudium with every respect and kindness. The story of the fate of C. Papius according to Livy is not quite to be trusted, but his power was ended about this time. When the Romans sent prefects to reside in Capua, about 317 B.C., some of the neighbouring cities became restless, and Nuceria, Plistica, and Sora revolted, and after the defeat of Fabius near Anxur a party in Capua was in favour of revolting from Rome. About this time Suessa and Calatia joined Capua in declaring themselves in revolt, but the strife was brief, and after the great victory of the Romans in Campania the leaders of the revolt in Capua, Ovius and Novius Calavius were given up, and Capua was again admitted to alliance with Rome.

About 312 B.C. Capua became the southern terminus of the great Appian way.

Campania was ravaged in 296 B.C. by the Samnite general Gellius Egnatius who fell next year in the battle at Sentinum; he

was succeeded by another C. Pontius of Telesia, and Campania was again desolated by war until he was defeated by Fabius the elder. The war was ended in 290 B.C., when the Samnites were received as dependent allies of Rome. During the next ten years the city of Capua enjoyed peace; then when Pyrrhus, in 281 B.C., invaded Italy the Capuans and Campanians fought on the side of the Romans. The country had during the season of peace recovered from the ravages of the Samnite wars and then presented a rich field for the Greek mercenaries of Pyrrhus to plunder.

On the retreat of that general from Campania those cities which had not been loyal to Rome again submitted, but no account thereof is preserved in the pages of the historians. One effect of this war, interesting to numismatists, was the abundance of Greek money, and of the coins of Southern Italy, which the armies of Pyrrhus brought with them.

From the time of Alexander of Epirus circ. 328 B.C. Greek armies had been fighting in Italy; and the Samnites were not too far north to feel the influence of these wars. We find that Agathocles had many Samnites among his soldiers in Africa (Diod., XX, 11, 64) and those who returned would bring Sicilian money with them. There was a Campanian body of troops in Rhegium who tried to possess the city, and when they were conquered by the Romans in 270 B.C. they were taken to Rome, scourged and beheaded. After the flight of Pyrrhus Campania again enjoyed a few years of peace until the breaking out of the first Punic war. The coins used by the Capuans during this period from 330-264 B.C. were the silver didrachms with the Rev. types of the head and neck of a horse, the galloping horse and a star, and the wolf and twins, the bronze coins with the head of Pallas and a horse's head and neck, those with an eagle on the Rev., and those with the lion. Whether these coins were minted in Capua, or in some of the neighbouring Roman colonies, as Cales, is not yet agreed among numismatists.

Capua was no mere rural township bounded by local interests, for many and varied were the influences which developed the city and made it the centre of the Campanian confederacy, many of which may be traced in the types of the coins.

The citizens were in contact with Rome on the North and with Tarentum and the Greek cities in the South of Italy. Through the ports of Cumæ and Neapolis they came in contact with Sicily, and from the earliest period they had been influenced by the Etruscans and Latins.

The types of the coins known to be Capuan bear witness to all these influences as well as to the native Samnite deities Diana and Pan; we find the types of the Greek cities, the heads of Heracles, Pallas and Zeus, the types of Sicily, the horse's head and neck, the

running horse, and the curious Phrygian head-dress on the head of a female said to be Roma. The very legends, partly in Roman partly in Oscan letters, shew the complex influences which dominated the city.

The head of Jupiter appears on many of the coins, and we learn from Livy (XXVI, 14) that one of the seven gates of the city bore the name "porta Jovis". It was probably on the east side of the city facing mount Tifata, on which stood a celebrated temple of Jupiter. Whether the cult of Jupiter was derived from the Southern Greek cities before the Romans began to influence the city or not, we recognize the cult as one which the Romans would share with the Oscans, and the appearance of the type during the period of Roman influence is perhaps a sign of the alliance with Rome.

It is noticeable that certain coin-types witness to a knowledge of Greek legends, which were evidently at that time sufficiently well known in Capua to render the types acceptable, although these legends are now only faintly preserved in the literature which has come down to our day. Such is the type of Telephus nourished by the doe, and that of Heracles dragging Cerberus from the realms of Pluto, in allusion to the mysteries of Samothrace, and that with a female head wearing a Phrygian helmet or head-dress.

The legend concerning Telephus of Mysia, son of Heracles and Auge, the daughter of King Aleus of Tegea, is recorded by Pausanias (VIII, 48).

He says "that Auge hid the birth from her father, and exposed the child Telephus on Mount Parthenius, and that the forsaken boy was suckled by a doe." The legend was illustrated by statues, paintings and coin-types, as for instance on those of Pergamus.

(O. Jahn, *Archäol. Beiträge*, p. 160 seq.).

A coin of Tarsus with this subject for its type is illustrated in Millin "*Galleries Mythol.*" plate CXV. Telephus was the father of Tyrrhenus and Tarchon, the mythical founder of the Tarquinii (Schol. Lycophron 1212-1249).

This association of the type with an Etruscan legend is interesting and may explain its appearance on the coins of a city founded by Etruscans. For another legend of a stag cherished at Capua, confer Silius Italicus XIII 115 and Virg. *Aen.* VII, 483.

Silius tells the story of a white doe caught and tamed by Capys and nourished by the citizens as an emblem of the local goddess for many years. At length frightened by some wolves who approach the city, the doe fled into the country around and was taken by the Roman soldiers and sacrificed by Fulvius to Latona as an agreeable victim with prayers that that goddess might aid his enterprise. This was looked on as a presage of a siege.

The head of Heracles appears on the Obv. of a small uncia with

the three-headed dog Cerberus on the Rev. On many Campanian and Apulian vases of the fourth and of the beginning of the third century we see the story of Heracles dragging the dog Cerberus from the realms of Pluto, probably in allusion to the mysteries of Samothrace which were imported into Italy.

At Cumæ there was an oracle of the dead called *νεκρομαντεῖον*, or *νεκροβέριον*, and there was a similar oracle at Aornus in Epirus, also illustrated on the coins.

The elephant which appears on the reverse of a coin bearing on the Obv. a head of Pallas reminds us of a passage in Pausanias (V, xii, 1); he says he had "seen an elephant's skull in the temple of Diana in Campania. This temple is distant from Capua about thirty stadia; and Capua is the metropolis of Campania". On another bronze coin is a head of Pan with the *pedum* over his shoulder, and he may have been the god of rural shepherds on mount Tifata; on the Rev. is a boar. On a rare Teruncius the head of Ceres crowned with ears of corn appears, and on the Reverse a bull to right, his head turned facing.

It is only natural that in a rich corn-growing region this goddess should be represented on the coinage, and the popularity of this cult is witnessed to by many inscriptions found near the city (Momm-
sen, *Inscr. Regni Neap.*).

The ruins of the temple of Ceres are pointed out by J. Beloch, in his work "Campanien" (Berlin 1879) as existing between S. Angelo in Formis and New Capua. The temple existed for a long time, because an inscription of a later date exists giving the name of a priestess of Ceres.

HERENNIA—M—F SACERDOS Publ. CERERI SACrum.

A Biunx, of good style in low relief, bears a beardless head of Heracles, and on the Rev. a lion advancing to right with a spear in his mouth, which he is beating down with his paw. This design is also seen on the coins of Amyntas III, King of Macedonia, and on coins of Velia. A Campanian As of the third century bears a lion's head, full-face, with a spear in its paws. Plutarch describes a similar design, the *Λέων ξιφήρης*, graven on Pompey's seal ring. A similar type is engraved on a cornelian in the Cabinet de France.

During the first Punic war, from 264-242 B. C., Capua was held by the aristocratic party loyal to Rome; then followed twenty-two years of peace. The plunder from Sicily would bring many Sicilian coins to Italy, and we see their influence on the types of coins issued in Campania, perhaps, according to some writers, in Capua itself.

CAPUA UNDER THE CARTHAGINIANS 216-211 B. C.

At the time of the defeat of the Romans at Cannæ, in 216 B.C. the popular party in Capua were headed by Pacuvius Calavius, a nobleman who had married a daughter of Appius Claudius.

His ambition led him to hope that, by the aid of Hannibal, he might become the ruler of a city greater than Rome, which seemed to have fallen from its high estate. The aristocratic party in Capua were all in favour of the Roman rule, but Calavius concluded a treaty with Hannibal, and admitted him into the city. The story is told in Livy XXIII, 2-4.

Capua was then so powerful that it could raise an army of 30.000 foot and 4.000 horse, and yet though they had the advantage of the guidance of the great general, Hannibal, the future course of the war was a series of attempts to defend Capua from the Romans.

We have no information as to the feelings entertained by Hannibal and the Campanians towards each other while the Carthaginians were wintering in Capua. The treaty of alliance had provided carefully for the independence of the Campanians, that they might not be treated as Pyrrhus had treated the Tarentines. Capua was to have its own laws and magistrates, no Campanian was to be compelled to any duty, civil or military, nor to be in any way subject to the authority of the Carthaginian officers (Livy, XXIII, 7). There was still a Roman party in Carthage, and one man, Decius Magius, was sent prisoner to Carthage.

Three hundred Campanian horsemen of the richer classes went to Rome from Sicily and were received as Roman citizens.

Pacuvius Calavius is never mentioned afterwards, nor do we know the fate of his son Perolla, who in his zeal for Rome wished to slay Hannibal when he made his public entrance into Capua.

From Livy we learn the names of some of the citizens who took part in affairs in the last days of Capua, of men who used the coins in our cabinets. There was Vibius Virrius at whose house the adherents to the Carthaginians met, to dine and die, before the Romans were admitted, and the great cavalry officer Jubellius

Taurea who joined the party of Carthage, and won the admiration of Hannibal for his brilliant fighting against the Romans.

The Meddix Tuticus, the chief magistrate, was one Seppius Lesius, of plebeian origin, and another important magistrate was Marius Alfius, slain by the Romans when on his way to the festival at Hamæ near Cumæ. From 216 to 211 B.C. the inhabitants must have suffered a time of continual excitement and anxiety. The camp of the Carthaginians was on mount Tifata for some two years; then followed the absence of their leader who went about from Nola to Arpi and down to Tarentum seeking food for the besieged Capuans.

In 213 B.C. a hundred and twenty noble families deserted to the Romans, asking only their lives and their estates. In the next year the Romans took the provisions stored at Beneventum, and the Capuans were reduced to despair, faintly cheered by the return of Hannibal, only for a brief visit, after which he marched to Rome in vain.

In 211 B.C., the eighth year of the second war, Hannibal tried in vain once more to raise the siege, and the Romans entered the city in triumph. From that time no more coins were issued with Oscan legends, and the city came under the strictest Roman rule. Twenty-five Capuan senators were sent to Cales, and twenty-eight to Teanum; all were scourged and beheaded. Many of the citizens were removed beyond the Tiber, and all local magistracies abolished. A mixed population of strangers, artizans and new settlers remained under Roman prefects.

COINS WITH OSCAN LEGENDS.

SILVER COINS OF CAPUA B.C. 263.

Issued during the First Punic War.

Obv. Laureated head of Jupiter to right : border of dots.

Rev. An eagle holding a fulmen in its talons standing to right with the wings raised. In field to right $\Sigma\P\P\Sigma$: border of dots. Specimens are to be seen in the Museums of Berlin, Paris, Naples.

Coins issued under Roman Dominion.

BRONZE COINS OF CAPUA 263-218.

I. Size : 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. Dextans.

Obv. Busts side by side of Juno and Jupiter. Juno is diademed and bears a sceptre on her shoulder : border of dots.

Rev. Jupiter standing in a quadriga, galloping to right, hurling a fulmen with his right hand, and holding sceptre in his left. In the exergue $\Sigma\P\P\P$ or $\Sigma\P\P\P$: border of dots.

Specimens are in the Museums of London, Paris, Naples, and Berlin.

II. Size : $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. Dextans.

Obv. Beardless Janus head : border of dots.

Rev. Same as no 1.

III. Size : $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch. Quincunx.

Obv. Head of Pallas to right, in Athenian helmet, crested, and with lateral aigrettes : border of dots.

Rev. Pegasus flying to right, underneath $\circ\circ\circ\circ$ and $\Sigma\P\P\P$: border of dots.

Specimens in the Museums of London, Paris, Berlin, and, Naples.

IV. Size : $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch. Quadrux.

Obv. Laureated head of Jupiter, to right : border of dots.

Rev. A winged fulmen, above $\circ\circ\circ\circ\circ$, below $\Sigma\P\P\P$: border of dots.

V. Size : 1 inch. Teruncius.

Obv. Head of Ceres crowned with ears of corn ; behind $\circ\circ\circ$: border of dots.

Rev. A bull standing to right, head turned facing, above $\circ\circ\circ$. In exergue $\Sigma\P\P\P$: border of dots.

Specimens in Museums of Naples, and Paris.

VI. Size : 1 inch. Biunx.

Obv. Head of Tyche wearing crenelated crown, behind two stars, and a strigil : border of dots.

Rev. A horseman cuirassed wearing chlamys floating in the wind, his lance held horizontally.

A shell under the horse's feet. In exergue $\Sigma\P\P\P$: border of dots. There are also Uncias with the same type.

The type may be compared with Syracusan coins of Hieron II. Specimens may be seen in the Museums of Berlin, Paris, and Naples.

VII. Size : 1 inch. Biunx.

Obv. Laureated head of Jupiter to right ; behind \star : border of dots.

Rev. Eagle, to right, turning its head, with wings spread, and a fulmen in its talons ; on either side a star of eight rays indicating its value as two ounces. In the exergue $\Sigma\P\P\P$: border of dots. Specimens are found in the Museums of Paris, Berlin, Naples, and Glasgow.

VIII. Size : 1 inch. Biunx.

Obv. Laureated head of Jupiter to right; behind \times : border of dots.

Rev. Two warriors standing facing each other, in their right hands a sword, taking an oath over a young pig held in their left hands. In field to left \times .

In the exergue $\square\Pi\Pi K$: border of dots.

IX. Size : 1 inch. Biunx.

Obv. Diademed head of beardless Heracles to right, with the club shewing over his left shoulder : border of dots.

Rev. A lion walking to right biting a spear, on the shaft of which he rests his left forefoot.

Above $\circ\circ$. In the exergue $\square\Pi\Pi \Lambda$ or $\square\Pi\Pi \Lambda$.

Specimens are found in the Museums of London, Paris, Berlin, and Naples.

X. Size : 1 inch. Biunx.

Obv. Laureated head of Jupiter to right, behind \times : border of dots.

Rev. Diana of Mount Tifata driving a biga to right. In field above $\times\times$. In exergue $\square\Pi\Pi K$.

Specimens in Museums of London, Paris, Naples, Berlin. Some of these types were engraved by the same artist who executed the silver coins.

XI. Size : $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. Uncia.

Obv. Head of Pallas to right wearing Corinthian helmet with double neck piece; behind \times : border of dots.

Rev. Victory standing to left holding wreath in her right hand, and in her left fillets; her body is bare above; in front \times . In exergue $\square\Pi\Pi \Lambda$: border of dots.

Specimens in Museums of London, Paris, Naples. The type seems to be copied from the gold staters of Pyrrhus.

There was probably a temple of Victory at Capua, for Cicero (*De divinat.* I. XLIII) says : “ Again, when the statue of Apollo at Cumae was covered with a miraculous sweat, and that of Victory at Capua also, and when the Hermaphrodite was born — were not these things significant of horrible disasters”?

XII. Size : $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. Uncia.

Obv. Head of Diana crowned with myrtle, her bow and arrows seen over her shoulder; behind \bullet or \times : border of dots.

Rev. Wild boar running to right. Above \bullet .

In the exergue $\square\Pi\Pi \Lambda$: border of dots.

Specimens in Museums of London, Paris, Berlin, Naples. The wild boar is seen on terra cotta steles found at Capua.

XIII. Size : $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. Uncia.

Obv. Laureated head of Jupiter to right : border of dots.

Rev. Victory standing to right, crowning a trophy; in field to right \times . In exergue $\square\Pi\Pi\Lambda$: border of dots.

Specimens are in the Museums of London, Paris, Berlin, and Naples.

XIV. Size : $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. Uncia of reduced weight.

Obv. Head or bust of Juno to right, her sceptre over her shoulder; she wears a diadem and earrings : border of dots.

Rev. Two archaic idols. Ζεϋξ of Artemis? a fillet is hung over all, and the idols are on a base. In the field to left the symbol $\text{C}+\text{C}$ called "object like a tripod" in *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*; $\square\Pi\Pi\Lambda$ in field to left : border of dots.

Specimens in the Museums of London, Paris, Berlin, Glasgow, and Naples.

XV. Size same as XIV. Uncia of reduced weight.

Obv. Same as no XIV.

Rev. Ear of barley with two leaves.

In the field $\square\Pi\Pi\Lambda$: to right the symbol $\text{C}+\text{C}$.

Specimens in the Cabinet de France.

XVI. Size : $\frac{5}{8}$ inch. Semiuncia (?) or Uncia of reduced weight.

Obv. Head of Juno (?), veiled to right, a sceptre over her shoulder : border of dots.

Rev. Ear of barley with two leaves. In the field $\square\Pi\Pi\Lambda$, to right the symbol $\text{C}+\text{C}$.

Specimens in the Museums of London, Glasgow, Paris, Berlin, Naples.

XVII. Size : $\frac{5}{8}$ inch. Semiuncia (?) or Uncia reduced.

Obv. Head of Apollo, laureated, to right : border of dots.

Rev. Lyre decorated with fillets, in the field to left $\square\Pi\Pi\Lambda$; on some specimens to right : border of dots.

Specimens in the Museums of Berlin, Paris, Naples, and Glasgow.

XVIII. Size : $\frac{5}{8}$ inch. Uncia of reduced weight.

Obv. Head of Pan beardless to right, the pedum over his shoulder : border of dots.

Rev. Wild boar running to right; above \bullet .

On the unique specimen in the Museum at Naples there is no legend in the exergue, but Garrucci gives to this coin the legend $\square\Pi\Pi\Lambda$ in the exergue.

XIX. Size : $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. Uncia of reduced weight.

Obv. Beardless diademed head of Heracles to right, with club behind neck : border of dots.

Rev. The three headed dog Cerberus to right.

In the exergue $\square\Pi\Pi\Lambda$: border of dots.

XX. Size : $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. Uncia of reduced weight.

Obv. Beardless head of Heracles to right with the club behind his neck : border of dots.

Rev. Doe to right suckling the infant Telephus, and turning its head to lick him.

In the field to right $\text{C}+\text{C}$. In exergue $\text{C} \Pi \Pi \text{E}$: border of dots.

A specimen in the Cabinet de France.

XXI. Size : $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. Uncia of reduced weight, or Semiuncia.

Obv. Head of Telephus wearing Phrygian cap to right : border of dots.

Rev. Same as no XX.

Specimens in Museums of London, Paris, Berlin, and Naples.

XXII. Size : $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. Semiuncia (?).

Obv. Head of Pallas wearing Athenian crested helmet to right : border of dots.

Rev. Elephant to right.

Specimens in the Museums of London, Paris, Berlin, and Naples.

XXIII. Size : $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. Semiuncia (?).

Obv. Diademed bust of Juno to right, her sceptre over her shoulder : border of dots.

Rev. A winged fulmen, above the symbol $\text{C}+\text{C}$, below $\text{C} \Pi \Pi \text{C}$: border of dots.

XXIV. Size : $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. Semiuncia (?).

Obv. Beardless head to right wearing Phrygian cap : border of dots.

Rev. Trophy of arms.

In the exergue $\text{C} \Pi \Pi \text{X}$.

A specimen in the Museum at Naples.

BRONZE COINS BETWEEN 217-211 B.C.

XXV. Size : $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch. Dextans (?).

Obv. Laureated head of Jupiter to right : border of dots.

Rev. Eagle standing to right with wings widely spread, with a fulmen in its talons, below $\text{C} \Pi \Pi \text{X}$, or $\text{X} \Pi \Pi \text{X}$.

Specimens in Museums of Paris, Berlin, and Naples.

XXVI. Size : $1\frac{1}{16}$ inch. Quincunx (?).

Obv. Same as no XXV.

Rev. Same as no XXV but with D in field, to right, signifying that it is half the value of the former piece.

ELECTRUM COINS. 217-211 B.C.

Obv. Beardless head of Janus Geminus crowned with corn ears : border of dots.

Rev. Jupiter in a quadriga led to right by Victory, in his left hand a sceptre and spear, in his right a fulmen : border of dots.

Specimens in the Museums of Naples, Paris, Vienna, Rome (Vatican), London, Gotha, and Berlin.

They contain 29 parts of gold to 71 of silver. From the late style, and from the absence of the legend **ROMA**, these coins may have been issued during the period of the Carthaginian occupation of the city.

The popular types of the Cock and Man-headed Bull.

On page 346 of M. A. Sambon's *Les Monnaies antiques de l'Italie*, the types bearing allusion to monetary conventions are :

1st. On the Obv. a head of Pallas as on the coins with the legend **ROMANO**, and on the Rev. a cock, as on the triobols struck at Naples about 282 B.C.

This type belongs to the towns which had periodical markets (Nundinæ) on the great commercial routes between Campania, Latium and Samnium.

2nd. On the Obv. a head of Apollo, and on the Rev. a man-headed Bull crowned by a Victory ; this is the Neapolitan type of the period 270-240 B.C. and it assured the circulation of these coins (of Suessa) in the different markets of Latium, Samnium, Apulia and Campania.

We find that three of the cities issued coins with each of these types : viz : Cales, Suessa and Teanum. The cock type was also used at Telesia, Aquinum, Venafrum (?) and in Etruria.

The other type with the man-headed bull had apparently a wider circulation. From Neapolis its use was extended to Nola or Hyria, Cales, Suessa, Teanum, Alifæ, Compulteria, Fistelia, the Frentanians, Malventum and Aesernia. A glance at a map will show that the cities which used these types cannot be placed in separate groups, as in a geographical division. The cities using the cock type are all, with one exception, on the North West of the Vulturnus, but so are the three cities which used both types. The man-headed bull type probably shows where the influence of the city Neapolis was dominant, and the cock type may be a more native symbol, adopted wherever the Samnite influence was in power.

COMPULTERIA

This city was situated on the borders of Samnium and Campania, on the right bank of the river Volturnus, about six miles north of Calatia, on the road to Aliffræ. It is twice mentioned by Livy who in describing the events of 216 B.C. says : " Compulteria, Trebula, and Austicula, towns which had revolted to the Carthaginians, were stormed by Fabius, and Hannibal's garrisons in them, with a great number of Campanians, were made prisoners " (XXIII, 59).

Next year we read : " many towns were taken by assault, Compulteria, Telesia, Compsa, Fugiffræ and Orbitanium... In these cities five-and-twenty thousand of the enemy were captured or slain. Three hundred deserters were recovered ; these were sent to Rome by the consul, and were without exception scourged in the Comitium, and then flung from the rock. All this was done by Quintus Fabius in a few days " (XXIV, 20).

The name is spelt in various ways in inscriptions : Cubulteria, Cubulterini, and Cupulterini.

The position of the site was discovered near the village of Alvignano, by Pellegrini, and is now occupied by the church of S. Ferrante which was probably built on the site of the temple of Juno, mentioned on inscriptions found there. The city evidently recovered from the effects of the Carthaginian wars for it was still flourishing in the days of Hadrian.

The coins of this city issued between 268-240 B.C., all in bronze, are very similar to those of Suessa and Teanum, which is fifteen miles distant westward, and similar to those of Cales, which was about ten miles distant in the same direction. They bear on the Obv. the head of Apollo laureate, and on the Rev. the man-headed bull with the head facing, crowned by a flying Victory. They belong to a series of coins which indicate a monetary convention between the cities using this type, copied from the coins of Neapolis. Perhaps the river Volturnus was used as a highway for the commerce of the district. In size the coins are $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter ; perhaps they were Litrae.

The legends are $\Sigma\text{N}\text{I}\text{C}\text{A}\text{P}\text{O}\text{L}\text{L}\text{O}\text{S}\text{P}\text{A}\text{T}\text{R}\text{O}\text{N}\text{O}\text{S}$ on the Obv. On many specimens the letters $\text{I}\Sigma$ are seen below the bull. The following letters are found behind the head of Apollo O, V, X.

NOLA

This city, named both Nola and Hyria, was situated in the midst of the plain lying to the east of Mount Vesuvius, between that mountain and the range of the Apennines, twenty-one miles south of Capua, and sixteen north of Nuceria.

It is thought to have been originally a city of the Ausones, one of the earliest tribes dwelling in Campania. The Etruscans influenced its early history, and then the Samnites took possession of the site.

Inscriptions in the Oscan language have been found there recording a treaty between Nola and Abella. Nola became the centre of a confederation of the Samnites and Oscans ruling Campania, and it grew in wealth and prosperity through its commerce with Athens, which was carried on through the port of Pompei. Evidence of this commerce is seen in the large number of beautiful terra cotta vases, and other objects of Greek art, found in the excavations made on this site. Dionysius Hal. noticed the attachment of the citizens of Nola to the Greeks. The name Nola is said to be the same as the Italic Novla and Nova and we may compare this with the name Neapolis given to the new city arising near the old Paleopolis. Nova or Nola in a similar way probably was the name given to a new city arising round the old Hyria. Stephanus of Byzantium, the grammarian who wrote at Constantinople soon after the time of Arcadius, quotes Hecateus of Miletus, a writer of the beginning of the VI cent. B.C., making mention of Nola as Νόλας Ἀβυόνων, but perhaps the passage is an interpolation; if it is genuine it is the earliest mention of this city. Among Latin authors Cato (ap. Vell. Paternulus, lib. I, c. 7), Justinus (XX, 1) and Silius Italicus (XII, 161) all mention this city. Cato tells us it was founded by the Tyrrhenians, Justin and Silius speak of it as a Chalcidian colony. Mommsen considers the name Nola to be the same as Novla (ΝΥΨΛΨ on the cippus Abellanus). Garrucci thinks the city was originally Italian, afterwards occupied by a Greek colony. The citizens resisted the advance of the Romans, and we have seen in the chapter on Neapolis how they sent two thousand men there to assist the citizens against the Romans in 328 B.C. The story is told by Livy (in Book VIII, 23, 25, 26), and the fall of

Nola is very briefly related by him (IX, 28). After its fall in 313 B.C. it became practically a Roman colony. Virgil appears to have had some land near Nola, for Aulus Gellius (*Noct. At.*, VII, xx) preserves the story of a request made by the poet to the citizens of Nola to allow some water to flow on to his land, and on their refusal the poet determined to punish them by taking the name of their city out of his poem (*Georg.*, II, 225). Virgil had described a good rich soil, and then proceeded: "Such a soil rich Capua tills, and Nola near mount Vesuvius, and the Clanius unfavourable to Acerræ". The lines now read in all copies. "Talem dives arat Capua, et vicina Vesevo ora jugo, et vacuis Clanius non æquus Acerrius" here the "Nola jugo" is altered to "ora jugo" "the lands near mount Vesuvius". In the fifth century A.D. Nola was celebrated as the home of St Paulinus of Nola, and as the place in which bells were first used in Churches, the word Campanile being derived from Campania and Nola.

The style of the Nolean coinage is very varied; a great number of the coins exhibit an attempt to form a new style, modelled indeed upon that of the Greeks, but the relief of the modelling is more accentuated, and the style is capricious, and sometimes very pleasing. Those heads of Dia-Hebe which most markedly shew the native style are very rarely badly designed and are seldom without a certain quaint charm. The types of Neapolis were copied probably to give a wider circulation to the coinage.

The head of Pallas was introduced on the coins of Nola about 360 B.C. M. A. Sambon says "the first example of this type in Italy is seen on the coins of Velia". Dr Head ascribes the introduction of this type at Velia to about the year 400 B.C. M. A. Sambon ascribes a unique coin of Neapolis in the collection of Dr A. Evans to 450 B.C., and the general use of this type in Neapolis to about 430 B.C. Confer the notes on "The Head of Pallas" in the chapter on the coins of Neapolis.

The head of Pallas had been introduced at Nola by the mint-masters who used the legend **HVPIETES** about 400 B.C.

HYRIA WITH NOLA.

Many silver coins bearing the name Hyria with types similar, and sometimes the same as those bearing the name Nola, are found in small collections. From an examination of the deposits we learn that the coins bearing this name were in circulation throughout Campania, and even in Apulia and Lucania. These coins of Hyria were, we know, minted in the city called also Nola.

Cavedoni (*Bull. Inst.*, 1850, p. 199) proposed to explain the

fact of the city having issued coins with two names by suggesting that the city was inhabited by two tribes or peoples.

Friedländer and Mommsen regarded the name Hyria as that of the first inhabitants, and Nola as that of later settlers, and with this opinion Dr B.V. Head agrees, attributing the coins signed Nola to the period 430-268 B.C. Dr Head quotes Mommsen as saying: "This town Hyria is supposed to have been the Palaeopolis of Nola".

The influence of this city among the Samnites in Campania must have been great because the abundance of their coinage shews that their wealth was greater than that of any other Samnite city.

Their earliest coins shew an affectation of archaism which prevailed a little earlier than the year 400 B.C. The same hammer was used to strike the Obv. types of coins bearing the legend **ΝΩΛΑΙΩΝ**, and of others bearing **VDINAI** on the Rev.; this fact affords evidence that the coins were issued from one mint, at one time, with the two names of one city.

The Samnites often changed the names of their cities, or at least substituted their patronymic for the city name, on their coins. For examples, confer the Mamertines at Messana, Alaesa, Entella Nacona. The Samnites placed the legend **ΚΑΜΠΑΝΟΣ** on their coins issued from Naples or Cumæ, and so the Hyrietes placed their name on their coins issued in Nola.

Friedländer has shown that the coins of Hyria may be classified in three periods.

1. The coins of the Hyrietes, 400-380 B.C.
2. Those of the Hyrietes and Nolaeans, 380 to 335 B.C.
3. Those of the men of Nola, 335-327 B.C.

From the artist's point of view these coins are very interesting, and many are beautiful.

If the men who wrought these dies were really of Samnite birth their work shews how quickly they were able to learn from the Greeks, and that they were capable of forming a good style of their own.

The highest development of this style may be seen on some of the coins with the legend **ΝΩΛΑΙΩΣ**.

These mint-masters cared not only for the appearance of the types, but also for the weight and general technique. Some specimens bear as a border on the obv. a raised rim which protected the type from being rubbed or worn; the types of these are all fine.

M. A. Sambon on p. 297 of his *Les Monnaies antiques de l'Italie*, speaking of the coins of Hyria, says: "il y en a de fort belles qui ont un caractère particulier et sont bien l'œuvre d'artistes italiques ou de Mixto barbari, et l'art des Mixto barbari en Campanie n'est point à dédaigner. Cet art est né de la fusion d'éléments étrusques, italiotes et osques".

When however the coins of Hyria and Nola are compared with those of Neapolis the resemblance between them is so great that it would be very difficult to say in what points any signs of Etruscan or Oscan art can be shown.

The ideas expressed by M. Sambon seem to be derived from the expectations which arise from the knowledge of the history of the city rather than from a study of the coins from an artist's point of view, if we may judge from the coins seen in England.

The influence of Athens upon the citizens of Hyria may be seen not only in the great number of Greek vases and other articles discovered on the site of the old city, but also in the adoption of the head of Pallas with the owl on the Athenian helmet, as their Obv. type; but the native cults were not left without representation, for on the coins bearing the legend **ΑΝΙΡΥ** we find the head of the goddess Hera Lacinia, and on the coins of Nola, that of Dia-Hebe.

A celebrated temple of the Hera of Southern Italy existed near Poseidonia. Strabo begins his sixth book with a mention of this temple, saying: "After the mouth of the Silaro is Lucania, and the temple of the Argive Hera, founded by Jason; near to this within fifty stadia is Poseidonia". The Greek name "**Ἥρα**" is probably the same as the Latin Hera and signified "Mistress", the masculine form Herus was also used for Master.

Her festivals were called Heraea (Livy 27, 30, 9). The head of Hera Lacinia was placed on the coins of Croton between 420 and 390 B.C., probably a little earlier than the date of their issue in Hyria. For further notes on this Italian cult confer the chapter on the coins of Croton and Pandosia, and for notes on the Dia-Hebe confer the chapter on the coins of Neapolis.

On p. 295 of M. A. Sambon's work *Les Monnaies antiques de l'Italie* a misprint occurs which might mislead and is therefore worth mentioning here: "The most beautiful coins of Hyria are copied from those of Crotona and Poseidonia" (*sic*) but the printer should have printed Pandosia for Poseidonia.

HYRIA

CLASS I.

The earliest didrachms of Hyria issued a little before 400 B.C. may be distinguished at once by the legend on the Rev. **HVPIETES**.

1. Obv. Head of Pallas to right wearing crested Athenian helmet decorated with wreath of olive.

Rev. Man-headed bull running to right, the head in profile and slightly lowered, the left, or off foreleg raised as in running.

Above, **HVPIETES**; below **ΑΣ↓**. M. A. Sambon considers this last letter ↓ to be no letter, but a harpoon, and Dr Imhoof-Blumer a plant. The letters **ΑΣ** are also found on didrachms of Neapolis.

2. Obv. Head of Pallas similar to no 1. but differing in the addition of an owl on the helmet above the wreath. The heads are generally to left but are also found to right. They are generally of good Greek style but some are barbarous.

Rev. Man-headed bull walking to right with head in profile not lowered.

In the field above bull the legend varies in detail as follows

ΑΥΙΔΥ, ΑΥΙΔΥ, ΑΥΙΔΥ, ΑΥΙΔΥ

ΑΥΙΔΥ, ΑΥΙΔΥ,

ΥΔΙΝΑ, ΥΔΙΝΑ, ΥΠΙΝΑ

The legends on the coins of barbarous style are

ΥΔΙΝΑΙ, ΥΔΙΝΑΙ, ΥΔΙΝΑΙ, ΥΔΙΝΑΙ, ΥΔΙΝΑ.

ΥΠΙΝΑ, ΥΠΙΝΑ, ΥΔΙΝΑ, ΥΔΙΝΑ.

There is in the Cabinet at Florence a fine didrachm evidently copied from that signed **Φ** of Thurium with the little bird alighting under the bull with the legend **ΑΥΙΔΥ**.

Some coins of poor style bear the varied legend **ΑΥΕΔΥ**.

The letter **Γ** is found on some specimens on the Obv. behind the head and below the bull on the Rev.

The letter **Ο** is found also below the bull.

The monogram **Æ** is also found below the bull.

CLASS II, FROM 380-350 B. C.

1. Obv. Head of a nymph in profile to right copied from similar coins of Neapolis.

The hair is arranged in a band broader at the back than in front.
Earring in ear.

Rev. Similar to class I, n° 2. **ΑΙΓΟΥ**.

2. Obv. Head of a nymph in profile to right, her hair dressed in a broad band.

Rev. Man-headed bull to left, above **ΥΔΙΝΗΙ**.

CLASS III, CIRCA 380-340 B.C.

1. Obv. The head of Hera Lacinia, three quarter face inclined to right, wearing necklace, the hair blown around the head, escaping from the high sphendone decorated with bas reliefs of two griffins and palms.

Rev. Man-headed bull walking to right, head erect, above, the legend **ΑΙΙΟΥ** or **ΑΙΙΟΥ** or **ΑΙΙΟΥ**.

The **A** is sometimes **Α** or **Α**. The **Υ** is sometimes **Ψ** or **Ψ**. M. A. Sambon notices one with the legend **ΥΡΙΑΝΟΣ**. At Parma is a specimen with **Γ** on both Obv. and Rev.

CLASSIFICATION OF COINS BEARING NOLA.

CLASS I. 390-325 B.C.

Obv. Head of Hebe to right, of fine style, wearing earring and sphendone broader at back than in front where it is knotted or has an ornament.

Rev. A man-headed bull walking to left, the head bearded and facing. Above in the field a figure of Victory flying and placing a crown on the human head. In the exergue **ΝΩΛΑΙΟΣ** or **ΝΩΛΑΙΟΝ** or **ΝΩΛΑΙΩΝ**.

CLASS II. 360-320 B.C.

Obv. Head of Pallas to right wearing crested Athenian helmet ornamented with a crown of olive on which is perched an owl.

Rev. Man-headed bull walking to right. On some coins the letter **O** is seen under the bull, on others the monogram **Ξ**, or **Æ**, or an uncertain sign **Ϛ**. Behind the head of Pallas **Σ** or **Ϛ** and under the bull **Æ**, and above **ΝΩΛΑΙΩΝ**.

CLASS III.

Obv. Head of Hera Lacinia similar to that on the coins bearing the legend **ΑΙΙΟΥ**.

Rev. Man-headed bull walking to right, the head and human face slightly bent as if to receive the crown which a flying Victory places over the head. The legend is confused, **ΓΑ ΥΚΑ ΩΙ** in the exergue. This coin is in the Cabinet of France.

FENSERNIA

Some rare coins to be seen in the Cabinets of London, Paris, Parma, Naples and Vienna, bear the head of Hera on the Obv., some of which are thought by Dr Imhoof-Blumer to have been issued from the mint of Nola because they seem to have the same Obv. type apparently struck by the same hammer as that used for some of the Hyrian types.

Eckhel attributed them to Croton, and Avellino to Cerfennia or Censennia or to Tifernum, but Millingen, Garrucci, and Dr Imhoof-Blumer recognized that they must be attributed to some Campanian city. It was noticed that the type of the reverse bearing the Chimaera was probably suggested by the volcanic nature of Vesuvius, and Pindar's words in Olymp. XIII, 128, describing the Chimarea as " fire breathing " (πυρπνέουσα) were quoted in illustration. This reverse type is also illustrated by the design of a Campanian vase on which we see Bellerophon slaying the Chimaera (A. Sambon, *Vases antiques*. Paris, 1904, p. 41).

CLASS I WITH OSCAN LEGEND, CIRCA 360-335 B.C.

Obv. Head of Hera nearly full face but slightly turned to the right wearing a high diadem ornamented with bas reliefs of griffins and palms, the hair blown around the head, a necklace of pearls, similar to the design on coins of Hyria.

Rev. Bellerophon on Pegasus who is flying to the right. The hero wears a petasus, and raises his right hand on which he holds a lance preparing to pierce the Chimaera. Legend around **ΒΕΛΛΕΡΟΦΩΝ**.

A Phocaean didrachm, about 113 grains or 7.38 gram.

CLASS II WITH GREEK LEGENDS 380-335 B.C.

Obv. similar to above.

Rev. similar to above but with the legend **ΖΕΝΞΕΡ**. Some specimens bear **Γ** in the field on right of the head on Obv. and on Rev. to right of Pegasus. The style is often very good.

The **Γ** appears likely to be the signature of an artist.

BRONZE COINS WITH THE LEGEND IDΘIH OR IDNΘI.

A. Sambon and Garrucci thought there was a town called Irnum near to Salerno on the banks of the river Irno. The coins bearing this legend are always found in Campania, and two specimens have been found in the Oscan tombs of Pompei (*Giorn. degli Scavi*, 1874, n. 21).

The type is copied from the coins of Neapolis, and from those of Cumæ, and although they are of very rough workmanship they seem to have been issued before 300 B.C.

Confer *B. M. Catalogue*, p. 127, "UNCERTAIN OSCAN COINS".

1. Obv. Size .65. Obv. Head of Apollo to right laureate, back hair in form of ringlets.

Rev. Man-headed bull to left, in field above IDNΘI, one specimen has IΘMΘ. The head of the bull is very much larger in proportion than usual.

2. Obv. Size .52. Similar to no. 1, but back hair curled back and upwards.

Rev. Mussel shell hinged to right, around which three dolphins, a border of dots; no legend. No 9, p. 127, *B. M. C.*, also at Berlin, Paris, and Naples.

VELECHA

There are two bronze coins in the Museum at Berlin, a Sextans, and an Uncia bearing the legend CEΛEXA. This city is known only by these coins. Some conjecture that a series of the aes grave (semis, triens, sextans and uncia) bearing the letters CE may have been issued from the same unknown city.

Garrucci suggests that the name Valekans may be taken from the god Vulcan, just as the Mamertines were so called from the god Mamers. A. Sambon suggests that: "On peut penser aussi à des incursions des Volsci, près du pays des Hirpiniens".

1. Size 1.1 Obv. Head of Helios facing, a dot on either side, 1 : border of dots.

Rev. Elephant to right CEΛEXA.

II. Size. 8. Obv. Head of Helios facing : border of dots.

Rev. A horse's head to right CEΛEX : border of dots.

NUCERIA ALFATERNA

Nuceria was situated sixteen miles from Nola, on the banks of the Sarnus, about nine miles from the sea, at the junction of the road from Nola to Salernum with that from Neapolis. It was an Oscan city belonging to a tribe called the Alfaterni mentioned by Pliny (III 5) as among the "populi" of Campania.

We are not told by the historians when the citizens entered into alliance with Rome, but it was probably about 332 B.C., when Cales fell into the hands of the Romans. The earliest mention of Roman influence at Nuceria is that made by Diodorus (XIX, 6), "The Romans when at war with the Samnites took Ferentum, a city of Apulia. The inhabitants of Nuceria, called also Alfaterna, influenced by some of their fellow citizens, renounced their friendship with the Romans, and made alliance with the Samnites". This happened in the year 315 B.C. : seven years later we learn from Livy (IX 41) "Fabius having marched to Nuceria rejected the application of the people of Alfaterna, then suing for peace, because they had not accepted it when offered, and by force of arms compelled them to surrender. A battle was fought with the Samnites, and they were overcome without much difficulty". In the previous chapter Livy had described the luxurious dresses, and armour decorated with gold and silver, of the Samnites, and how these arms, when taken as spoil, were used to decorate the silver-smiths' shops in the Forum. For more than fifty years the Nuceriai remained quiet under Roman rule. About 280 B.C., when Pyrrhus began his war with Rome, the citizens began to issue the coinage with Oscan legends, and a type designed in allusion to a native myth.

Their silver coins were according to M. A. Sambon not issued after 268 B.C., the year of the introduction of the Roman silver denarii, but the bronze coins continued to be issued until the destruction of the city by Hannibal in 216 B.C. In that year when the Carthaginians had been repulsed at Nola they came to Nuceria along the road from Neapolis and, laying siege to the city, starved it into subjection. The resistance was long, and many attempts were made by the Carthaginians to win over the different

parties in the city. When the end came most of the citizens were found to have fled to the neighbouring cities, and Nuceria was given over to the soldiers, who plundered and at last burnt it to the ground. The Carthaginians then returned to Nola and Acerrae (Livy XXIII 15). When in 210 B.C. the Carthaginians left Campania, the refugees complained to Fulvius of their homeless condition, and he sent to ask the Senate what should be done for them. It was decreed that Acerrae should be restored, and the request of the Nuceriaans to be allowed to settle in Atella, granted, the Atellans being removed to Calatia (Livy XXVII, 3).

The city destroyed by Hannibal is that in which we are interested on account of its coinage, but it is interesting to note that another city was built on the site of Nuceria, and flourished in the days of Cicero, as we see in his work *De Leg. Agr.* (II 31). Appian (B.C. I, 42) tells us it was ravaged in the Social War by C. Papius, and Florus describes its capture by Spartacus (III 20.5).

The name of the old Oscan city which appears on the coins signifies the new town of Alfaterna NAN or NVI (nov) with the suffix AN (cr) according to Mommsen *Die uniterit. Dial.*, p. 283).

On the Obv. of the didrachms is a man's head decorated with ram's horns, which has been variously interpreted. Avellino explains the type by reference to a passage in Suetonius (*De clar. rhet.* c 4) concerning an ancestor of the rhetorician Epidius who flourished towards the end of the Republic and was a teacher of M. Antony and Octavius.

"This Epidius used to claim that he was descended from Epidius Nuncione (Nucerino?), who they say was once cast into the river Sarnus, and soon afterwards appeared with horns, but immediately afterwards disappeared, being held among the number of the Gods".

Millingen suggests that we should see in this horned head a figure of the hero Sarnus who gave his name to the river.

Duchalais regarded this as a head of Apollo Karneios, and other writers have looked upon it as a Libyan Dionysus, because it resembles the head on coins of Cyrene.

Garrucci notes that the horns on the figures of river-gods are generally bull's horns, whereas the horns on these coins are those of rams. There seems to have been some intercourse between Cyrene and the port Pompei, for an important find of coins of Cyrene has been discovered in Calabria. Two vases in the Hermitage mentioned by Reinach show a similar head belonging to the Dionysiac cycle.

DIDRACHMS.

The legends are in the genitive plural.

a) Obv. $\text{MVI}\Delta\text{ET}\text{N}\text{O}\text{N}\text{N}$ $\text{MVI}\Delta\text{X}\text{VNI}$ (Alafaternum Nuvkrinum) or $\text{MVI}\Delta\text{ET}\text{N}\text{O}\text{N}\text{N}$ $\text{MVI}\Delta\text{X}\text{VNI}$ or $\text{N}\text{N}\text{MVI}\Delta\text{X}\text{VNI}$ $\text{MVI}\Delta\text{ET}\text{N}\Delta$ ($\Delta = f$). Young man's head to left with long hair, and ram's horns.

Rev. Young hero nude nearly facing, with his head turned to left, standing, by his horse which is turned to left. In his left hand he holds a sceptre, or a thyrsus, $\Sigma\text{IEN}\Sigma\text{I}\Delta\text{N}\Sigma$. *i. e.* Sarnoneis = men of the Sarnus region. This would be the ablative singular as in the Oscan phrase for Senatus consulto **SENATEIS TANGINVD**.



In the dialect of Nuceria the sound of *v* is rendered both by J and F , and the *f* is rendered by O , S .

On many coins there is the ligature SJ or SF (fater) as $\text{MVI}\text{S}\text{J}\text{N}\text{N}$ or $\text{MVI}\text{S}\text{F}\text{N}\text{N}$.

On some specimens, behind the head on the Obv., symbols are found, as a dolphin, a dolphin and pecten shell, a goat, a cantharus, a bee. These coins have no legend in the exergue.

BRONZE COINS.

260-210 B.C.

I. Size $\frac{7}{8}$ inch. Litra (?).

Obv. Young male head with long hair, bound with a fillet around $\text{MVI}\Delta\text{ET}\text{N}\text{O}\text{N}\text{N}$, $\text{MVI}\Delta\text{X}\text{VNI}$: border of dots.

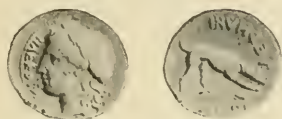


Rev. The Dioscuri galloping to left and raising the right hand. In the exergue in two lines MVIHNIJ .

ⲛⲁ ⲙⲧⲩⲟⲩⲧⲁ ⲛⲁ = Regvinum Ravalanum. Specimens in the Museums of London, Berlin, Naples.

II. Size $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. Hemi-litra (?).

Obv. Young male head to left, perhaps Apollo. Around ⲙⲧⲩⲟⲩⲧⲁⲕⲉⲧⲩⲛⲁ : border of dots.



Rev. A hunting hound running to right, around ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲧⲧⲁⲕⲉⲧⲩⲛⲁ ; some specimens add ⲙⲧⲩⲟⲩⲧⲁⲕⲉⲧⲩⲛⲁ.

A specimen in British Museum.

PHISTELIA.

Among the most common of the small silver coins of Southern Italy are those bearing a beardless virile head, facing, with an Oscan legend on the Rev., and sometimes a Greek legend on the Obv. **ΦΙΣΤΕΛΙΑ**. Many are the conjectures which have been made as to the site from which these little coins were issued, but few are the facts by which they may be tested. The most important is that the greatest number of these coins have been found in excavations in Samnium. Von Duhm in 1878 published (in the *Bull. Inst.* p. 31) his notes on the excavations in the necropolis of Piedimonte d'Alife, in which quantities of obols of Phistelia were found, and he also examined the collection of Canon Pacelli of Telesia. Minervini published (in *Bull. Arch. Nap. N. S.* III 130) notes on the excavations of a necropolis at Campo Laurelli, near Campo Basso, in which obols of Phistelia were found in abundance. Telesia is a few miles north-west of Capua on the east side of the river Volturnus; a little to the south of Telesia is Plistiae which some think may have been Phistelia. Allifa, where many of these coins have been found, is to the north of Telesia. Avellino (Op. III, p. 86) thought Plistia was the same as Phistelia. This city is mentioned by Livy (Bk IX, 21) "The Samnites being forced to fly into their camp, extinguished their fires at night, and went away in silence, and giving up all hopes of relieving Saticula, sat themselves down before Plistia, which was in alliance with the Romans, that they might if possible give back equal trouble to their enemy". The fact that these coins bear legends sometimes in Greek on the Obv., and Oscan on the Rev., points to a site near the borders of Samnium and Campania, such a condition is sufficiently fulfilled in the site of Plistia. The Samnites, settled in Campania, generally used Greek for their legends, but the coiners of these obols of Phistelia always used Oscan and only sometimes added the Greek legends to the Obv. of their coins.

This general use of Oscan legends shows that the coins were issued for the commercial use of Samnites. M. A. Sambon regards the art exhibited on these coins as more distinctly Samnite than that of any other mint.

Another evidence of the Samnite origin of these obols is the name $\Sigma\text{I}\text{I}\Sigma\text{Π}\text{V}$, Opsius written retrograde, which is found on an obol in the collection of Dr A. Evans.

Millingen, Lenormant, and Mommsen attributed these coins to Puteoli, but none have been found there in any excavations, and those obtained in the neighbourhood of Naples were probably brought there from Samnium, that city being the nearest market for such antiquities.

DIDRACHMS

1. Obv. Head of Nymph three quarter face to right with hair blown around the head, no sphendone or fillet visible.

Rev. Man-headed bull walking to left, with head in profile erect. Above, in the field, the legend $\Sigma\text{IVT}\text{I}\Sigma\text{I}\Sigma$. In the Cabinets of Berlin and France, varieties of poor style; imitations by Samnites bear the legend SISIVS or SIZTIVIZ or SISTIVIS .

One variety has a dolphin in the exergue of the Rev. Weight: 116. 4 gr. Brit. Museum, no 2.

2. Obv. Head of Hera with high diadem or sphendone.

Rev. Man-headed bull to right, head in profile erect. Above, in the field a Victory flying to right and holding crown over the bull. No legend. This coin is attributed to this city by M. A. Sambon on account of the close similarity of the work with the above-mentioned coins.

Mr. Poole attributed it to Naples, p. 94, C. B. M.

OBOLS.

1. Obv. Youthful male beardless face, with short hair, full-face like a mask without a neck.



Rev. A barley corn and mussel shell around which the legend $\Sigma\text{IVT}\text{I}\Sigma\text{I}\Sigma$ or $\Sigma\text{IVT}\text{I}\Sigma\text{I}\Sigma$ or $\text{VVTI}\Sigma$.

In the British Museum is a similar obol without legend.

2. Obv. Similar face but with neck, around the legend $\Sigma\text{IV}\text{I}\text{—T}\text{I}\Sigma$.

Rev. A dolphin and barley corn and mussel shell.
In the Collection Cazaniello, from Piedimonte d'Alife.



3. Obv. Similar, three-quarter face with neck, around which $\Phi\text{I}\Sigma\text{TE}-\Lambda\text{I}\Lambda$. At Naples one specimen has $\Phi\text{I}\Sigma\text{TE}-\Lambda\text{AD}$.

Rev. Dolphin, barley-corn and mussel shell, and the legend $\Sigma\text{IV}\nu\text{T}\Sigma\text{I}\delta$ around.



A variety, in the Cabinet of France, has the legend above $\text{IV}\nu\text{T}\Sigma\text{I}\delta$.

4. Obv. Similar head, to left Φ .

Rev. Same as last, but under type $\Sigma\text{IV}.....$

5. Obv. Similar head of different style, to right N .

Rev. Mussel shell and barley corn, above which $\Sigma\text{IV}\nu\text{T}\Sigma\text{I}\delta$.

6. Obv. Head of Pallas to right with Athenian helmet decorated with olive-wreath on which an owl is perched.

Rev. Forepart of a man-headed bull to right swimming, above, the legend $\nu\text{A}\Sigma\text{T}\Sigma\text{I}\delta$. Cabinet at Berlin. Minervini notes a specimen with the same types; but the legend $\Sigma\text{IV}\nu\text{T}\text{I}\delta$.

HALF OBOLS.

1. Obv. Youthful male beardless head facing, around which the name of a magistrate $\Sigma\text{I}\text{I}\Sigma\text{N}\nu$ (Opsius).

Rev. $\Sigma\text{IV}\nu\text{T}\Sigma\text{I}\delta$ The letters divided in pairs in the spaces formed by the figure I .

Found at Piedimonte d'Alife.

2. Obv. Head of Pallas, facing, her helmet decorated with three feathers.

Rev. $\Sigma\text{IV}\nu\text{T}\Sigma\text{I}\delta$ the letters as on no. 1 divided by the design or figure I . C. of Berlin. and C. of France.

QUARTER-OF-AN-OBOL.

1. Obv. Youthful male beardless face around which $\Sigma IV \nabla \Sigma 18$.

Rev. A wheel with a globule in each space between the spokes.

Coll. Evans.

Found at Piedimonte d'Alife.

LEGENDLESS COINS.

The following coins are known to have been found chiefly in Samnium and from the similarity of the workmanship may most probably be attributed to Phistelia.

OBOLS.

1. Obv. Female head nearly facing, the hair in waves around, a necklace of pearls on the neck.

Rev. A lion running to left, sometimes to the right; in exergue a serpent.

The lion is imitated from that on coins of Heraclea; the reverse is often concave.

On p. 129. B. M. Cat. under "UNCERTAIN OF CAMPANIA."

Weight of obol in Brit. Museum of this type 9.7 grs.; size .45.

2. Similar types to No. 1 but above the lion a star of eight rays. This type has been found at Piedimonte d'Alife.

3. Similar types, but the lion is represented with the head looking backwards. above, in the field, a helmet, and in the exergue a thyrsus with fillets.

A specimen is in the Cabinet at Berlin.

For notes on these coins confer Dressel, *Hist. und Phil. Aufsätze zu Ehren E. Curtius*, pp. 250-258, and the *Zeitsch. für Numism.*, XIV, 1886, p. 170.

SUESSA

Although Suessa was just within the border of Latium it was, in the earlier days of its history, looked upon as one of the Campanian cities, and is included among them by M. A. Sambon in his work "*Les monnaies antiques de l'Italie*".

Suessa was founded by the citizens of Aurunca, when their old home, about five miles to the north, was destroyed by the Sidicini in the year 337 B. C. It was five miles south of the Liris, about eight from the sea, and seven from Teanum. Cales lies about ten miles to the South-East, and Capua about twenty miles distant in the same direction. According to Livy (VIII, 21) the country between the Liris and the Volturnus was subdued by the Romans in 340 B.C., but no Roman colonists settled in the lands of Suessa until 313 B.C. During the wars with Pyrrhus and the Carthaginians the Romans left considerable liberty to their southern allies, and permitted them to coin silver with the legend **SVESANO** and bronze coins with types copied from the Greek coins of Magna Graecia. A sign of their superintendence may perhaps be seen in the legend **PRBOM** or **PRBOM** on the bronze coins which Garrucci considers as equal to 'probum metallum' or ass.

The Aurunci (*Ἀὐρὺντζοὶ*) were the people called by the Greeks Ausones, the two names being different forms of the same, the letter *s* being changed to *r*. Servius identifies them in his notes on Virgil's *Aen.* VII, 727.

Festus makes the mythical hero Auson, son of Ulysses by Circe, the founder of the race.

Suessa suffered so much during the wars that followed the landing of Pyrrhus, and those with the Carthaginians, that it was numbered among the twelve cities which declared their inability to provide the men and money needed by the Romans, and was afterwards heavily taxed in consequence (Livy XXVII, 9, XXIX, 15).

Their silver didrachms, issued according to the Neapolitan system, were all of one type. The Obv., a head of Apollo, seems to have been copied from coins of Croton, the Rev. looks like an imitation of the coins of Tarentum, which may have become well known to them by the money brought northwards by the armies of Pyrrhus. The Bronze coins may be divided into three classes; those issued for local use, and those used in trade with the northern and southern neighbouring cities.

The local coins bear on the reverse Heracles strangling the lion. and are evidently copied from the coins of Heraclea.

These are the earliest, and date from about 280 B.C. The second class comprises those bearing a cock on the Rev., and the type is that used by the towns which held periodical markets or fairs (*nundinæ*) on the great commercial routes between Campania, Latium and Samnium. The third Class consists of coins bearing on the Rev. the man-headed bull crowned by Victory, and this type ensured their circulation in Campania and Apulia.. These two typés are about ten years later than the local type.

DIDRACHMS.

There is only one type known, varied only in the symbol behind the head.

Obv. Head of Apollo, laureate to right, except in two specimens on which it is to left; one is in the Cabinet of France, and the other at Naples.



Behind the head is a symbol; the following is a list of those known: a lyre, a triskelis, a crescent, the head of a trident, a sword, a pentagon, a shield, a Macedonian helmet, an owl, a lion's skin, a tripod, the head of a spear, or perhaps a leaf, a trophy, a fulmen, a star with eight rays, a wing, a pecten shell, a vase with two handles.

Rev. A mounted nude Desultor with pilos on his head, holding in his left hand a palm branch decorated with fillets (*κατασπασσας*) and leading a second horse. In the exergue **SVESANO**.

Some understand this as a gen. pl. = Suessanorum, others as the ablative sing. of 2nd declension, as Tianud = Tiano, compare Akudunniad Aquino, Arimno, Beneventod, Caiatino, Caleno, Romano, with these names is understood "a populo".

LOCAL BRONZE COINS.

Types struck during Pyrrhic wars, circ. 280 B.C.

Obv. Head of Mercury to left, wearing the petasus with small wings on top, the cap is tied under the chin with a knot or bow, in front of face the legend **ΠΡΒΟΥΜ** or **ΠΡΟΒΟΜ** or **ΠΡΟΒΟΜ**.

The Obv. legend is very varied in spelling **ΓΡΒΟΜ** and **ΓΡΟΒΟΥΜ** are also found.



Rev. Heracles nude, standing to right, strangling the Nemean lion. In the field between the legs of the hero a club.

The legend, to left, **SVESANO**.

CAMPANIAN BRONZE TYPES.

1. Obv. Head of Pallas to left wearing crested Corinthian helmet : border of dots.

Rev. Cock to right ; behind a star of eight rays ; before **SVESANO** : borders of dots.



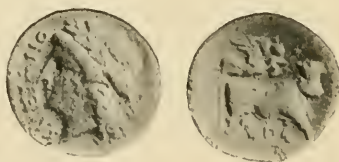
On a specimen at Naples a club is seen behind the head on the obverse.

On some specimens the helmet is decorated with a serpent.

2. Obv. Head of Apollo to left, behind a fulmen or **T** or **O**, or **N**, or the letter **K**, or **M** before **SVESANO** or **SVESANO**.

Rev. Man-headed bull to right, the head facing, crowned by a flying Victory. Between the legs of the bull **N**. or **ΙΣ** or **M** or **Γ**.

3. Obv. Similar head of Apollo, behind head **O**, perhaps it is a patera.



Rev. Similar to last with **SVESANO** in the exergue.

TEANUM SIDICINUM

The strength of tribal influence among the Ausonians is shewn by the names of the tribes affixed to several of their chief cities, Nuceria of the Alfaterni, Suessa of the Aurunci, and Teanum of the Sidicini. All these cities used the same Oscan alphabet for the legends on their coins, and the two types of the cock and the man-headed bull common to these and to Caiatia, Cales and other cities further north, as Aquinum, Telesia, and Aesernia point to considerable commercial activity among them.

Strabo (V, p. 237) gives the following account of Teanum : "Teanum called Sidicinum shows by its name that it belonged to the nation of the Sidicini. These people are Osci, a surviving nation of the Campanians, so that this city, which is the largest of those situated on the via Latina, may be said to be Campanian as well as Cales, another considerable city which lies beyond."

Livy speaks of the power the Sidicini once had in the valley of the Liris, and the territory of Fregellae (VIII, 22) and Virgil associates them with the Auruncans and the men of Cales. The territory of Teanum seems to have been fertile and was especially famous for olives, which Pliny speaks of as among the best in Italy. In 343 B.C. we learn from Livy (VII, 29, 30) the Samnites attacked Capua and the citizens called on the Campanians to assist them, and afterwards asked for help from Rome, and thus gave rise to the First Samnite War. In spite of the varying fortunes of the following years they managed to keep their independence, for in 338 B.C. they attacked and destroyed Aurunca, whose fugitives fled to Suessa. (Livy, VIII, 15). The Sidicini sided with the men of Cales in their war with the Romans which ended in 332 B.C. by the territory of Teanum being subjected to Rome. The exact date of the fall of the city Teanum into the power of Rome is not known. Arnold says 316, (p. 233), but it was some time before 297 B.C. when we read that Decius Mus attacked the Samnites "per agrum Sidicinum".

Arnold (II, p. 176), says : "Although Cales was made a colony and garrisoned with 2500 colonists, yet the Sidicinians held out during the two following years, and their lands were wasted, but

their principal city, Teanum, was not taken, and as neither victories nor triumphs over them appear in the annals or in the Fasti, and the termination of the war is never noticed, we may suppose that they after a time obtained favourable terms, and preserved at least their independence".

During the war with Pyrrhus 281-275 B.C. they were left by the Romans with sufficient freedom to coin money, both silver and bronze with Oscan legends and types, which show their freedom to join in the monetary federation of the neighbouring cities. In 216 after the battle of Cannæ the Roman Dictator was at Teanum.

The silver coins bear on the Obv. a head of Heracles which is thought to have been chosen with reference to the idea that Heracles presided over the mineral springs in the neighbourhood of the city. The Rev. type Victory in a triga appears to be a local design. A triga appeared in 90 B.C. on the denarii of the Mallia gens, and in 81 B.C. on those of C. Naevius Balbus. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says (VII, 73), the Romans borrowed the custom of yoking three horses to a chariot from the Greeks. These coins of Teanum are an illustration of how the Romans came into contact with Greek ideas long before the days of the Mallia coins.

The rare bronze coins with the head of Mercury instead of Apollo are perhaps evidence of their intercourse with Latium where the cult of that god was popular. The other types with the cock and the man-headed bull on the Rev. bear witness to their commerce with the surrounding cities. After 268 B.C., when the Romans began to issue their first silver denarii, no silver coins were issued from Teanum, and the bronze coins appeared with the legend in Latin letters **TIANO** instead of the Oscan legend **AVINNT**.

In the Punic wars the city suffered much, for Livy (XXVI, 9) tells of Hannibal crossing the Volturnus and next day going on to Cales "in agrum Sidicinum". Silius Italicus (V, 551) praises the valour of the cohort of Sidicinum and gives the name of their leader as Viredasius (confer also lib. XII, 524).

In 216 B.C., after the battle of Cannæ, Marcellus sent a legion to Teanum to secure the via Latina (Livy, XXII, 97). In 211 B.C. it was in the hands of the Romans, for they confined there the senators of Capua while they were awaiting their sentence from Rome. Fulvius slew them before the sentence arrived (Livy, XXVI, 15). From that time it was a Roman municipal town, and was flourishing in the time of Cicero, as we may gather from his *De leg. agr.*, 31, 35, and *ad Attic.*, VIII, 11. d.

SILVER COINS.

282-268 B.C.

Didrachms. 107 grains.

1. Obv. Head of Heracles to right, beardless, and wearing lion skin head-dress, before **ЯВИПНТ**; border of dots on edge.

Rev. Victory driving a triga to left, holding out whip in her right hand; the centre horse has the head turned. In exergue **ЯВИΚΙЯΙΣ**.

Specimens in Museums of London, Berlin, Naples, Paris; those at London and Paris are "fourrés".

II. Didrachms on large flan about 111-107 grains.

Same types as no 1. but no legend on Obv. and with **ЯВИПНТ** or **ЯВИПНТ** on Rev. in exergue. Specimens in the Museums of Milan, Berlin, Naples, Paris and London. These are not so rare as No 1.



In the Museum at London is one with the head of Heracles turned to left, with an oak-leaf behind (fourrée).

Other symbols found behind the head of Heracles are a cantharus, a pedum, an owl, a hermes, a heron, a cornucopia.

BRONZE COINS.

I.

HEAD OF APOLLO AND MAN-HEADED BULL, 280-268 B.C.

1. Size $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. Litra (?)

Obv. Head of Apollo to right, before **ЯВИПНТ**; border of dots.

Rev. Man-headed bull walking to right with the head facing, above a lyre. In exergue **ЯВИΚΙЯΙΣ**.



Symbol above bull, sometimes a star; various letters are found behind the head of Heracles.

II

SIMILAR TYPES WITHOUT SIDIKINUD. 270-240 B. C.

Size $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. Litra (?)

Obv. Laureated head of Apollo to left before **ЯВИНѢТ** : border of dots.

Rev. Man-headed bull walking to right, with head facing, crowned by a flying Victory ; below a pentagon on some examples.

Behind the head of Apollo on some specimens **Т** or **О**, or a buckler, or a patera.

On one specimen at Paris there is no flying Victory.

These are common coins.

III

OBVERSE TYPE. HEAD OF MERCURY. 280-268 B. C.

Size $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. Litra (?)

Obv. Head of Hermes to right, with flowing hair, wearing winged petasos and chlamys fastened at the throat with a brooch ; over his shoulder the caduceus ; behind head, a star of eight rays : border of dots.

Rev. A man-headed bull walking to right, head facing ; above a star of sixteen rays.

Specimens in Museums at London, Paris and Berlin.

IV

COINS WITH LATIN LEGENDS. AFTER 268 B. C.

Size $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. Litra (?)

Obv. Head of Pallas to left, wearing a Corinthian helmet ; on some specimens an owl behind : border of dots.

Rev. A cock to right : behind a star of eight rays ; in front **TIANO** : border of dots.

Specimens at Berlin, Naples, Paris and London.

ROMANO-CAMPANIAN COINS.

Although this series of eight types is common enough to be frequently found in small collections it is of uncommon interest both in regard to its artistic and historic associations. Other Campanian coins illustrate the influence of the Greek cities upon the Oscan or Samnite races, but these early silver Roman coins shew us the effects of the dawn of Greek thought and art upon the more powerful Roman race. Arnold has called the period during which these coins were issued "the spring-time of the Roman people".

This was the period during which many Romans won greater victories than those gained in war. These coins were used by such men as Curius and Fabricius, whose characters were not spoiled by the wealth which the coins represent.

The reply of Curius to the Samnites who tried to bribe him is famous: "I count it my glory not to possess gold, but to have power over those that do". As well known is the reply of Fabricius under like circumstances. "While I am master over my five senses, and sound in body and limb, I need nothing more" (*Val. Max.*, IV, iii, 5, and 6).

Pyrrhus bore noble witness to the moral grandeur of Fabricius when he received from him the letter of the traitorous physician who proposed to poison his master, "This is that Fabricius whom it is harder to turn aside from the ways of justice and honour than to divert the sun from its course" (*Eutrop.*, II, 14).

Cineas, the ambassador of Pyrrhus to Rome, bore similar witness to the Roman character at that time, when he said, "Rome is a temple, and the Senate an assembly of kings" (*Florus*, I, 18).

Dr Arnold said of the years which preceded the first Punic war, "This ten years was probably the time of the greatest physical prosperity which the mass of the Roman people ever knew."

The result of their victories had enriched all classes, and the life and character of the Roman people were being changed, the means of acquiring wealth unjustly proving a temptation which sorely tried the national character.

An illustrated classified list of these eight types will prove a help to those who are entering upon a study of this series, and will enable the student to enter upon the difficult questions of dates and mints with the aid of something tangible.

CLASS I.



I. Obv. Head of Mars to left.

Rev. Bust of horse bridled, **ROMANO**

Weight: 118.36 to 112.65 grains or 7.67 to 7.33 grammes;
average 7.23.



II. Obv. Head of Apollo to left, **ROMANO**.

Rev. Cantering horse to right; a star above.

Weight: 112.65 to 104.94 grains or 7.30 to 6.80 grammes;
average 7.15.



III. Obv. Head of youthful Hercules to right.

Rev. The she-wolf and the twins, **ROMANO**.

Weight: 112.65 to 106.48 grains or 7.30 to 6.94 grammes.

CLASS II.



IV. Obv. Female head with Phrygian helmet to right.



Rev. Victory tying taenia to palm-branch, **ROMANO**.

Weight: 101 to 98 grains or 6.68 to 6.48 grammes.

The weight of six scriptula would be 6.82 gram. or 105.25 grs.

V. Obv. Head of Apollo to right.

Rev. Horse galloping to left. **ROMA**.

Weight: 101.99 to 101.08 grains or 6.70 to 6.53 grammes.



VI. Obv. Helmeted head of Mars to right; club behind.

Rev. Horse galloping to right, above a club, below **ROMA**.

Weight: 101.99 to 97.22 grains or 6.72 to 6.29 grammes.



VII. Obv. Helmeted head of Mars to right.

Rev. Bust of horse to right, bridled, a falx behind, **ROMA** below.

Weight: 101.99 to 101.08 grains or 6.71 to 6.54 grammes.

CLASS III.



VIII. Obv. Janiform beardless head.

Rev. Jupiter in quadriga to right. **ROMA** below.

Weight from 106.48 to 100 grains or from 6.96 to 6.17 grammes.

The abundant and interesting coins bearing the legends **ROMANO** and **ROMA** illustrate a period of Roman history difficult to understand on account of the lack of historical literary evidence upon which we can depend. All modern students of Roman history realize how uncertain is the light which Livy has thrown upon

this period, and how difficult it is to reconcile his statements with the evidence of the coins issued in Campania about the year 300 B.C.

Some numismatists have attributed this series of coins to Capua, others to the cities of Cales, Arpi, and Beneventum, while M. Babelon has suggested that they were military coins, issued by the Roman generals from whatever city they happened to inhabit when an issue of coinage was needed for military purposes.

This suggestion appears to explain the legend having reference to the Roman people rather than to any particular city.

Unless a design is the well known emblem of a city or the head or figure of a deity associated intimately with a city, the type will witness to the artist who engraved it rather than to the city in which he worked.

Especially is this the case with the coins of Southern Italy, for there the artists worked not in one city only, but sometimes for several mints. If we find a coin bearing the legend **ROMANO** similar to a coin which we know to have been issued from Cales or Arpi it does not follow that it was minted in those cities; it may signify that the coin-engraver who worked in Cales or Arpi also wrought for the Romans, but where he did his work, or whence the coin was issued is not revealed by the type. Moreover among the Oscan cities the coin-engravers were most probably Greeks who had learned their art in Greek cities, and copied their types. This would explain the frequency with which the types of Tarentum were copied, and the beautiful work of the Sicilian mint-engravers imitated.

Sir A. Evans would attribute to the year 338 B.C. the didrachms with the head of Mars, and to the year 310 those with the head of Hercules, and to the year 300 those with the helmeted head of Roma. These dates appear to M. A. Sambon too early, and he would attribute them to the years between 303-270 B.C., a time when the Samnites were subdued, and the Romans sought during the six years' peace 305-298 B.C. to rule the commerce between Cales, Arpi, and Venusia. In 291 B.C. Venusia was colonized by 20,000 Roman colonists, to form a strong post on the road to Tarentum from Samnium.

M. Sambon then turns to examine the subjects of the types on these **ROMANO** coins, and shews that they are copied from Sicilian types. Those with the head of Mars seem to be copied from bronze Syracusan coins of the time of Timoleon with the head of the hero Archia, and he refers to the important commercial treaties made with the Carthaginians in 275 B.C. (Polybius, III, 25).

About 305 B.C. the Romans had begun to repair the old defect in their military arrangements, the lack of cavalry.

The types of the head of Apollo and the unbridled horse were copied from Sicilian coins.

Moreover the types of the bridled horse's head, and the galloping horse, were signs of the growing interests of the Romans in the use of cavalry, an interest which probably arose from their connection with the Tarentines.

The "transvectio equitum", connected with the cult of Castor and Pollux, was instituted in 304 B.C. (Livy, ix, 46) "ab eodem institutum dicitur, ut equites Idivus Quintilibus transveherentur". The didrachm with the head of Hercules is similar to those of Syracuse with the legend ΔΙΟΣ ΕΛΛΑΝΙΟΥ, probably issued about 287-278 B.C., and similar to the coins bearing the head of Heracles coined during the brief government of Pyrrhus.

The type bearing the head of Roma, and the figure of Victory, alludes to the battle at Ausculum 279 B.C., which, although claimed as a victory by Pyrrhus, was indecisive enough to reanimate the courage of the Romans after their defeat at Heraclea, when Pyrrhus was obliged to return to Tarentum. This type of the Victory is seen also in a bronze coin of Ausculum, and the head of the figure is bent as if mourning for the fallen heroes of the fight.

The other coins bearing the legend ROMA shew signs of the commercial relations with the Bruttii; for instance the youthful head of Mars is similar to, and probably copied from, the head of Achilles on the coins of Pyrrhus.

DR. HAEBERLIN'S FIRST PERIOD 335-312 B.C.

The bronze had no relation to the silver convenient for exchange, the didrachm corresponding to $3\frac{1}{2}$ asses. The bronze coinage was mere token money.

Silver.

Campanian didrachms of normal weight 116.98 grains.

I (a) Obv. Head of Mars, bearded, to left.

℞. Bust of horse to right, behind it a corn-ear. ROMANO.

b) A silver litra corresponding.

II Obv. Head of Apollo to left, ROMANO.

℞. A horse to right, above it a star.

III. Obv. Head of young Heracles, to right.

℞. Wolf and twins, ROMANO.

SECOND PERIOD.

Silver.

The FIRST ISSUE consisted of didrachms only, no gold or smaller coins.

I. Obv. Head of Roma in Phrygian helmet, to right.

℞. Victory fastening taenia to a palm branch : ROMANO.

LATER ISSUES. Three types of silver, gold, and bronze.

II. Obv. Head of Mars to right, beardless; behind, a club.

℞. Horse to right; above, a club, ROMA.

Libellæ of same types.

III. Obv. Head of Mars to right, beardless.

℞. Bust of horse to right, behind, a sickle, ROMA.

Drachms and Libellæ of same types.

IV. Obv. Head of Apollo, to right.

℞. Horse, to left, ROMA.

Drachms and Libellæ of same types.

TABLE SHEWING RELATION OF BRONZE TO SILVER IN HAEBERLIN'S
SECOND PERIOD.

| | | | | |
|---|--------------------|--------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| 1 | Scriptulum weighed | 17.44 gr. or 1.137 gram. | × | 120 = Semis |
| 2 | Scriptula | = 35.3 — or 2.274 — | × | 120 = As of light Pound. |
| 3 | — = drachm of | 52.62 — or 3.41 — | × | 120 = 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ As |
| 4 | — = | 70. — or 4.55 — | × | 120 = Dupondius |
| 6 | — = didrachm of | 105.25 — or 6.82 — | × | 120 = Tressis or three Asses |

Gold.

| | | | | | |
|---------------|--------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 6 | Scriptula A. | = 15 | didrachms = 30 | drachms = 45 | Asses |
| 4 | — A. | = 10 | didrachms = 20 | drachms = 30 | Asses |
| 3 | — A. | = 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ | didrachms = 15 | drachms = 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ | Asses |
| 1 | Didrachm | = 2 | Drachms = 6 | scriptula A. | = Tressis |
| $\frac{2}{3}$ | — | = $\frac{4}{3}$ | — = 4 | — | = Dupondius |
| $\frac{1}{2}$ | — | = 1 | — = 3 | — | = 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Asses |
| $\frac{1}{3}$ | — | = $\frac{2}{3}$ | — = 2 | — | = 1 As |
| $\frac{1}{6}$ | — | = $\frac{1}{3}$ | — = 1 | — | = 1 Semis |

The connection between the silver and bronze pieces is also marked by common types such as the head of Roma and the dog on the Quadrans of the Wheel series, and by the symbols, the club and the sickle.

NOTES ON TYPE I OF EARLIEST PERIOD.

Didrachm ; weight about 110 to 112 grains.

1. Obv. Bearded and helmeted head of Mars either to right or to left ; behind an oak leaf and acorn. The head may be copied from that of Leucippus on the coins of Metapontum.

Rev. Head and neck of a horse bridled, to right, on a narrow base on which is inscribed the legend **ROMANO**, the **N** is sometimes **N** ; behind the head, an ear of barley.

The type may have been copied from Siculo-Punic types.

The style is good, and the design well executed.

Compare the bridled horse's head on Bronze coins of Ausculum, and those of Luceria.

The head of Mars was a most appropriate type for a Roman coinage of the period of the Samnite wars. Mars was also regarded as the father of the Roman people, because he is said to have been the father of Romulus and Remus, and the husband of Rhea Silvia. His name was often joined to the word father as Marspater. The horse's head is appropriate also for the Reverse type, for horses were offered as sacrifices to this god. There is evidence that in 295 B.C., about the time when these coins were issued, there was a revival of this worship in Rome, for Livy (x, 23) tells us the Ogulnei Cnaeus and Quintus being aediles, "the road from the Capuan gate to the Temple of Mars was paved with square stones." The temple was probably that vowed in the Gallic war, cir. 365 B.C. (Livy, vi, 5), and dedicated by Titus Quinctius duumvir for performing religious rites.

Many of these didrachms were found in the deposit discovered near Beneventum, and described by Dr. A. Evans. They were mingled with coins of Tarentum, Metapontum, Neapolis, Nola, and Velia.

Dr. A. Evans attributes these coins to the year 338 B.C. Willers in the *Corolla Numism.* observes that the vigorous style of these first issues leads us to attribute them to a date a little earlier than the first issue of Roman denarii, and the symbols found on the series are also found on some of the earliest of the denarii.

We must compare the head of Mars with the types of the bronze coins of Syracuse of the time of Timoleon, on which we see a similar head of the hero Archia (Cat. B. Mus. no 308), and also with the Sicilian coins of the Carthaginians.

At the time these coins were issued the Romans were in friendly alliance with the Carthaginians. In the deposit of Tortorato (Piceno), Sicilians coins were found together with these **ROMANO** coins.

NOTES ON TYPE II.

Obv. Laureated head of Apollo to left, in front **ROMANO** : border of dots.

Rev. Unbridled horse galloping to right, above in field a star of sixteen rays. Sometimes the ground is slightly indicated.



Dr Dressel (*Zeitschr. für Numism.*, XIV, 1886, p. 161), has pointed out that certain bronze coins of Beneventum appear to have been engraved by the same artist who wrought this type of Apollo.

The head was apparently copied from coins of Syracuse issued from 345-317 B.C. during the time of Timoleon. Compare these coins with no. 252 of the Brit. Mus. Catalogue. The Pegasus type distinguished the Carthaginian coins, and the unbridled horse those of the Campanians. Apollo had long been worshipped by the Romans. Livy relates (IV, 25) how a temple to this god was vowed in the year 430 B.C. on account of a pestilence, and dedicated during the next year, by the Consul Caius Julius (IV, 29). In the year 350 B.C. either this old temple was restored or another built (Livy, VII, 20).

M. A. Sambon says : “ The head of Apollo on the didrachm with the legend **ROMANO** offers three varieties, having a striking analogy with the coins of Beneventum, Suessa, and Cales. A similar head is also found on Campanian Asses which have been attributed to Capua, but which may also have been issued from Suessa.

The Reverse type may be not only a symbol of the Campanian people but also a reference to the cavalry supplied to the Roman armies by the Campanian allies.

We may compare this type of the horse and star with the silver coins of Arpi in Apulia, a city which concluded an alliance with Rome in 326 B.C. (Livy, IX, 13) and was loyal to the Romans throughout the wars with Pyrrhus.

NOTES ON TYPE III.

Obv. Head of Heracles to right, with very slight beard, his hair bound with a fillet. The skin of a lion bound round his neck, and the club resting on his shoulders : border of dots.



Rev. A she-wolf to right, suckling the twins and turning her head towards them. In the exergue **ROMANO**. The letter **A** in the legend appears in many varied forms.

The type of the Obverse is very similar in style to that on the Syracusan coins with the legend **ΔΙΟΣ ΕΛΛΑΝΙΟΥ** issued between 282-278 B. C. Confer Brit. Mus. Catal. no. 468, 469, 470.

They are similar also to coins issued by Pyrrhus circa 278 B. C. Confer Brit. Mus. Catal. no 493. There is evidence that the Romans about this time were interested in this cult, for Livy (IX, 44) tells us that in 305 B. C. "the great statue of Hercules was erected on the Capitol and dedicated."

We are all familiar with drawings and photographs of the bronze wolf preserved in the Capitoline Museum at Rome, and it is natural to ask whether there can be found any connection between that famous bronze group and the type on these didrachms. Helbig has shown (*Die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Alterthümer in Rom*, p. 478) that at all events the supposition that this bronze is to be identified with that set up in Rome, by the Ædiles Cnaeus and Quintus Ogulnius, in the year 295 B. C. is wrong; because the Romans, who had by that time so much knowledge of the Greek art in Magna Graecia, could not then have executed any work in such an archaic style as that familiar bronze exhibits. But the new statue set up by the Ogulnian family shews that at the time when these didrachms were issued this was a popular subject in Rome; moreover the old bronze on the Capitol shews it had long been popular, at any rate since the sixth century in Rome. Although the coin-type is probably purely Roman in its associations, yet it is interesting to note that the Greeks knew a similar story which they also commemorated on a coin-type.

Romulus and Remus are not the only heroes who are said to have been exposed and saved by being nursed by a she-wolf, and

indeed this subject forms the type of a Greek coin issued from Cydonia in Crete about 350 B.C. The legend to which that coin-type refers is told by Antoninus Liberalis who flourished about 150 A.D. He quotes this legend from Nicander of Colophon, who was flourishing in 150 B.C. (*Ant. Lib.*, p. 40, ed. 1832). "Acacalis, the daughter of Minos, bore a son to Apollo in Crete, whom she cast forth in the woods, through fear of Minos. The wolves continually visited this child whom according to the counsel of Apollo they guarded, and supplied with milk in turns. Afterwards he was found by some herdsmen who took him to their home and brought him up. When the boy grew up fair and sturdy and Minos through jealous fear sought to slay him, he, Miletus, embarking by night on a light boat, by advice of Sarpedon, sailed to Caria, and there became the founder of the city Miletus".

Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* does not mention the wolves when he tells us (IX, 440) of the flight of Miletus; speaking of Minos he says "but he was then an invalid and stood in fear of the son of Deione, Miletus, proud of the strength of youth and his father Phoebus: and though believing that he was aiming at his kingdom, yet durst not drive him from his father's house." Then follows the story of his flight in a swift ship over the Aegean waters, and his founding the city Miletus.

It is not unlikely that these Cretan coins may have been brought to Italy by merchants or by the Greek armies during the Pyrrhic wars, and it is possible that the Romans may have been reminded, by the type, of their own legend concerning Romulus and Remus.

It is because so many of the other types of this Romano-Campanian series are copied from Greek coins that it seems possible that this type also was derived from a Greek source.

NOTES ON TYPE IV.

Obv. Head of a female wearing Phrygian helmet to right, the helmet is described as of leather. At the top of the crest is a small griffin's head. Behind is a cornucopie: border of dots.



Rev. Victory standing to right, tying a crown to a palm-branch ;

to left **ROMANO**: to right one of the following letters **A** or **Α**, **Δ**, **H**, **Ι**, **I** or **⋈**, **Λ**, **M**, **O**, **P**, **Σ**, **T**, or **BB** or **ΔΔ** or **ΣΣ**.

The weights vary from 101 to 98 grains.

In a work by Comte Alberic du Chastel de la Howardries, "Syracuse, ses monnaies d'argent et d'or, la coiffure antique", on Plate X no 116, we may see a similar head described as "Tête coiffée du bonnet phrygien."

The Reverse has a lion to left with palm-tree behind. The head is called by some that of Dido and the coins are Carthaginian, but the head-dress is not really the same as that on the Roman coin. Early Electrum coins of Phocæa of the fourth century B.C. bear a head very much more similar.

Confer Hæberlin's remarks on this type in the *Corolla Num.*, p. 186 and the illustrations on Plate VI.

This head of Roma in the Phrygian helmet is interesting as a very early piece of evidence of the reception by the Romans of Greek legends concerning the history of Rome. The story of Aeneas settling in Italy can be traced back to the poems of Arctinus, one of the earliest poets who followed the Homeric age. The legend was made popular in S. Italy and Sicily by Stesichorus of Himera, the Sicilian poet, who died about 550 B.C.

Mommsen (*B^k II*, c. ix) says "It was the great remodeller of myths, Stesichorus, who first, in his 'Destruction of Ilion' brought Æneas to the land of the West, that he might poetically enrich the fable-world of his birth and of his chosen home, Sicily and Lower Italy, by contrasting the Trojan and Hellenic heroes also there. With him originated the poetical outlines of the fable as thenceforward fixed, especially the group of the hero, with his wife and his little son, and his aged father bearing the household gods, departing from burning Troy, and the important identification of the Trojans with the Sicilian and Italian Autochthones". The poet was guided by the feeling that the old races of Italy were less widely removed from the Greeks than were other barbarians.

According to Hellanicus of Mitylene, who wrote about 400 B.C., Odysseus and Æneas passed to Italy from the north through Thrace and Epirus, and he relates the story of the Trojan women burning the ships, and of Romulus founding the city and naming it after one of the women. Aristotle tells a similar story of burning the ships, and of the mixture of races producing the Latin nation. Callias in 280 B.C. mingled the stories of Odysseus, Æneas and Romulus, making a woman named Romé marry Latinus and become the mother of Romulus. Mommsen says: "The person who really completed the conception subsequently current of this Trojan migration was Timæus of Tauromenium in Sicily, who concluded his historical work in 262 B.C. It is he who represents Æneas as

first founding Lavinium with its shrine of the Trojan Penates, and therefore founding Rome". Timæus also introduced the story of Dido, and said Rome and Carthage were founded in the same year.

The works of Timæus were highly prized by Cicero (*de Orat.* II, 14) and although he was severely criticized by Polybius, we gather that he attempted to record the ancient myths as much as possible in the words of the earliest writers known to him. His care for chronology may be seen in his invention of the plan, always afterwards adopted, of dating events by the Olympiads. He could not apply this method to the events before the year 776 B.C., when the first Olympiad was held, and therefore the story of the Trojan settlements which took place about 1184 B.C., according to the poets, was not treated by him as chronologically as the later events, and he disregards the date given by the Roman annalists for the founding of Rome in the Olympiad VI, 4, that is 753 B.C.

The Roman annalists may have applied the Greek story to Lavinium and Alba Longa and still regarded 753 as the year when Rome was founded. Thus they escaped the absurdity of talking of the son of Æneas being alive more than 400 years after the fall of Troy.

The coin with this earliest head of Roma is therefore a witness to the influence of Greek culture among the Romans who conquered Campania. The earliest Roman historians wrote in Greek and probably copied the story of Æneas from Timæus; such was the case in regard to Quintus Fabius Pictor, whose history was however written some ninety or at least sixty years after the issue of this coin.

There is evidence that the Roman claim to Trojan descent was publicly received in Rome as early as 258 B.C., for when C. Duillius erected a column in the city, to commemorate his victories over the Carthaginians, the inscription claimed the people of Segesta in Sicily as kindred on account of their Trojan descent. This may be a reference to Thucydides VI, 2. Velleius Paterculus (I, viii) in 30 A.D. dates "the foundation of Rome in the sixth Olympiad", "This event took place four hundred and thirty-seven years after the taking of Troy". He had shewn, in the earlier portion, his knowledge of the Greek stories of the Trojan settlements in Southern Italy.

Niebuhr says Sallust is the only Latin historian who traced the foundation of Rome to the Trojans (*Sall. Cat.* 6); the thirteenth chapter of Niebuhr's 'History of Rome' gives some account of the literature relating to "Æneas and the Trojans in Latium".

The poems of Naevius and the history of Q. F. Pictor and other famous Roman works now lost may be regarded as so many links between the stories of Troy as told by Homer to the Greeks and those told by Virgil to the Romans of the Augustan age.

In this type the head of Roma is shewn for the first time in the sphere of figurative art, and is characterized by the Phrygian helmet, intimating the Trojan source of the citizens. The head is idealized as that of a young victorious heroine, but not merely as that of one who has conquered, but as one who by her power to rule gave peace. This is further intimated by the design of the Reverse, which shows the Victory tying the fillets on the trophy hung on the palm-branch of peace.

Dr Haeberlin considers that this head was afterwards changed by making the helmet more like that on the head of Bellona on the uncias, on which we see a round helmet without wings. Bellona was associated with Mars, and her name was among those of the gods called upon in the old form of invocation "O Jove, Jupiter, Mars-pater, Bellona" &c.

REVERSE TYPE.

M. A. Sambon has noticed that the coins bearing this type are distinguished by letters and symbols often identical with those on the coins of Cales. Dr. A. Evans attributes these coins to the year 300 B.C.

M. A. Sambon considers that the victory to which the Reverse type of these coins alludes was that of the battle of Ausculum 279 B.C. From Livy (X, 33) we learn that when L. Postumius Megellus was Curule Aedile he built, and in his second consulship dedicated, a temple of Victory in Rome. He was consul for the first time in 305 B.C., according to the Fasti, but some annalists place the date two years earlier.

It was this Megellus who took Sora and Arpinum in the valley of the Liris. In 295 B.C. he was made propraetor, and remained in Rome till after the battle of Sentinum. He was consul for the second time in 294 B.C. It was he who recommended the establishment of a Colony at Venusia.

Dionysius (1, 33) informs us that an older temple of Victory once stood on the Palatine hill, on the site on which Megellus built his temple.

Confer the figure of Nike on bronze coins of Ausculum.

NOTES OF TYPE V.



Obv. Head of Apollo laureate to right : border of dots.

Rev. A horse unbridled galloping to left, slight indication of earth : **ROMA**.

In style some specimens are fine and carefully wrought.

NOTES ON TYPE VI.

The youthful head of Mars may have been copied from the head of Achilles on the coins of Pyrrhus.



Obv. Helmeted head of Mars to right, with slight whiskers ; behind a club : border of dots.

Rev. A horse unbridled galloping to right, slight indication of earth : above, a club : below, **ROMA** : circle plain.

In style these are inferior to the earlier types.

NOTES ON TYPE VII.

Obv. Helmeted head of Mars to right with long horse-hair crest pendant. The face is sometimes hairless and on some coins slight whiskers appear.



Rev. Head and neck of a horse bridled, to right ; behind, a falx or sickle : beneath neck, **ROMA**. Weights from 101 to 98 grains.

These types seem to be copied from the early didrachms of this series.

The weight, style and fabric however are very different ; in weight they are lighter, in style less bold, in execution feebler, in fabric thinner and flatter.

NOTES ON TYPE VIII, THE JANUS TYPE.

The last of these eight types, that bearing the head of Janus, is generally thought to have been minted in Capua, and the type of the deity who presided over the commencement of all Roman undertakings would have been just what we should expect if we regard these as the first coins issued from a new mint.

There is however another aspect of the cult of Janus which is peculiarly appropriate to Capua, namely that of which we read in the notes of Servius on Virgil *Æn.* 1.294 : “Now indeed the gates of Janus were open in time of war that the view of the god might be opened upon the war, in whose power would be the going forth and the return, for that very idea was represented by his effigy as the leader of those who went forth, and who returned. Moreover Numa Pompilius made this temple formerly, whose gates he closed in the time of his reign.”



Janus was the “*Rector viarum*” the god who presided over the departing and returning wayfarers. Now Capua was at the Southern end of the Appian Way, and the god who presided over that way, and over the return homewards, was a most suitable deity to be represented on the coins of such a city. Macrobius I, ix, 7 calls Janus “*Portarum custos et rector viarum*.”

If however we associate this type with the other types which show the warlike spirit of the Romans, such as the head of Mars, and the horse types, emblems of the Roman cavalry, then the head of Janus may be regarded as that of the deity whose gates were called “the gates of war” : (Plut. Num. XX, 1) Virgil (*Æn.*, VII, 607) writes also of the “*geminae portæ belli*”.

His temple was open during war, that the genius of war might go forth with the armies, leaving the gates open to welcome the victors from the field.

The cult of Janus appears to be one of the most ancient of all those which obtained in Rome, and may be compared with that of Vesta, the goddess of the hearth. Janus was the god of the door, and as the temple of Vesta was the hearth of the city, so that of

Janus was the gate of the city. The idea was probably common to the most ancient inhabitants of central Italy, and was not an importation from Greece. As to the name Janus, we find the ancient authors were as divided in opinion as the modern, and nothing certain is known.

However as Janus was the "Rector viarum" it seems likely that Cicero was right in deriving the name from the verb to go, "ire", this is the view of Roscher. But Buttman, Schwegler, and Preller follow the lead of Nigidius Figulus, a friend of Cicero who has been called "a Pythagorean Mystic", and who derived Janus from Jana, a form of Diana, making the masculine form Janus.

The root idea would be *Dius*, meaning the clear sky. So Varro also (*De re rust.* 1, 27). Others, as Corssen, have suggested that the name should be derived from the root "div", divide, and regard *Divanus* as the original form of the name.

The Janiform heads are not however found only in Italy, for they occur on coins of Tenedos from 500 B.C., but on those, one of the heads is bearded and the other female; similar types are also found on coins of Lampsacus of the same date, and, on some issued between 412-350 B.C., both heads are beardless.

There are five different silver coins bearing the head of Janus.

1. Didrachm. Obv. Janus geminus, beardless, laureated: border of dots.

Rev. Jupiter in a quadriga galloping to right, driven by Victory. He holds a sceptre in his left hand, and hurls a fulmen with his right. Underneath is a tablet on which is the legend **ROMA** in incuse letters: a plain circle around. This incuse legend is similar to that on the earliest Roman denarii. Weight: 108 to 96 grains.

2. Didrachm. Similar types, but differing only in that the legend **ROMA** is in relief, not incuse.

3. Drachms weighing 37 to 34 grains with the same type as no 2.

4. Drachms in good style weighing 52 to 50 grains.

Obv. the same as the former coins.

Rev. An unbridled horse galloping to right; underneath, **ROMA**.

5. One fifth of a drachm, weighing nearly 15 grains. Types same as no 4. Museum of Naples. (Coll. Santangelo.)

These coins seem to have been long in circulation, for Trajan issued a restoration of this type and at Vienna is a specimen countermarked by Vespasian.

On p. 11 of the Brit. Museum Cat. is an illustration of a large bronze coin, size 1.85, bearing on the Obv. a beardless head of Janus wearing a pointed cap. On p. 48 of the same Catalogue is a description of an As of Central Italy: size 2.95, bearing on the Obv. a beardless Janus bound with diadem.

This Janus type is also found on coins of Volterra and of Rhegium and Capua with Oscan legends. M. A. Sambon dates these bronze coins of Capua 268 to 218 B.C.

The Obverse of the gold coins with the legend **ROMA** and the sacrificial scene on the Rev. also bears this Janus type. The style of these silver coins is very variable, some are of fine Greek style, others very poor.

On page 371 of vol. XX of the *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*, 1907, M. Arthur Sambon gives some valuable notes on these Janus coins. He refers to the suggestion of Willers (*Corolla Numism.*, p. 310), that Tiberius Veturius reproduced the type of the aureus in memory of L. Veturius who received in 209 five hundred pounds of gold and took part in the war against Hasdrubal, and therefore he thinks these gold coins were issued in 209 B.C., and he refers to Pliny (H.N. 33, 47).

The Obv. may be compared with didrachm no IV. *Æ*.

Compare the Obv. type of coins of Etruria with a cross incuse on *℞*. where we see the same head as on Obv. of this coin.

These are the eight different types of bronze *litrae* unconnected with the Roman *As*, issued in Campania.

PERIOD III. FROM 269 B. C.

In this third period we find a new series quite independent of the *litrae*, bearing marks of value shewing their relation to the Roman copper series of the *As* and its parts. From the section of the flan of these coins we see the flan was cast, but the die was struck, and as these are the earliest struck coins of the *As* series they probably were not issued before the introduction of the *denarii* in 269 B. C. The types however shew that they are Campanian coins, for they differ altogether from the Roman series, which was never varied in regard to its types.

Haeberlin says : " In this third period the bronze unit becomes subordinated to the silver unit, and in this change lies the secret of the Roman reductions. The Roman *As*, equated with the silver unit of the *scriptulum* loses half its weight, and is issued on the semi-libral standard ".

" Corresponding to the *quadrigati* is a bronze coinage (struck pieces with **ROMA**, from *triens* or 4 *libellæ* to half *uncia* or *semitruncata*) which has hitherto not been regarded as Capuan, and which was a true coinage, not mere token money, like the small bronze of the previous period. The Roman *As* of this period is divided decimally, not duodecimally " (*Num. Chron.*, p. 117, 1907. Part. I, Fourth series, no 25). This paper by Mr. G. F. Hill is a most

valuable epitome of the work of Dr. E. J. Haeberlin published in 1905.

“The subordination of bronze to silver, the fact that the As represented now not so much an independent amount in itself, as a certain amount of silver, brought about its loss in weight; as long as the State guaranteed its equivalence to the silver unit there was no reason why it should not be reduced in weight.

“This reduction was not a case of state bankruptcy; such a view of it was excusable only so long as the bronze coinage, gradually falling in weight, was supposed to be the only coinage of the capital”. “Silver is to bronze as 1 : 120”.

Table of the coins of the Heavy Pound Series (327.45 grammes).
III. Neo-Roman Pound.

| | | | |
|---------------|---|-----|--|
| As | = | 288 | Scriptulæ of 1.137 grammes 17.55 grains. |
| Semis | = | 144 | — |
| Triens | = | 96 | — |
| Quadans | = | 72 | — |
| Sextans | = | 48 | — |
| Uncia | = | 24 | — |
| Semiuncia | = | 12 | — |
| Quarter uncia | = | 6 | — |

This date appears too late for the didrachms which M. A. Sambon thinks were issued in 269 B.C. and says we know but little of the history of the Veturii.

This brief account of the eight silver coins of Rome's heroic age only serves to show how little we know of the mint cities and their government by the Romans. The greatness and wealth of Capua have so impressed some writers on the subject of the coinage that the divided condition of the citizens and the many notices of enmity and disloyalty to Rome have been apparently underestimated. Some coins such as those bearing the Janus head were most probably issued in that city, but that the Capuan was the only mint outside Rome used by her colonists in the South seems most unlikely when we regard the evidence of the eight types here described. Let us hope that some one will harmonize the valuable studies of Haeberlin, Sambon and Bahrfeldt and present us with a more clear and well-founded account than has yet been written.

THE ROMANO-CAMPANIAN BRONZE COINAGE

For some time before the influence of the Greek Colonies began to affect the coinage of the cities in Campania to the north of Capua the citizens used ingots and heavy bronze coins stamped with a wheel.

On the ingots we see an eagle on a thunderbolt and on the \mathcal{R} a figure of Pegasus and **ROMANOM**. These heavy coins and ingots, however, do not belong to the series with which we are concerned in these chapters, as they are not among the coins influenced by the Greeks. They are very rare and costly, and those who wish to study them will find them well illustrated in the work by Garrucci and in various illustrated catalogues.

A translation of the valuable information given by Dr Haeberlin may be seen in the *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*, p. 203, vol. XIX, 1906.

PERIOD I.

The bronze coins issued with the silver of the First Period of the Romano-Campanian coinage influenced by the Greeks consist of Litrae and Double litrae, bearing three different types, and may be regarded as money of account, or tokens of a value not the same as the intrinsic value of the metal. We do not know how many litrae passed for a didrachm, nor what was the weight of the pound divided into litrae, nor how many went to the pound.

No attempt was made to make this coinage correspond in any way with the Roman series of the As and its parts. Up to the time of Timoleon's expedition, in the year 344 B.C., bronze coins had always, in Magna Graecia and Campania, represented a conventional value, and their weights are so irregular that no satisfactory tables have ever been made of their relative value to the silver coinage. We do not know for certain what was the relative value of silver and bronze in Campania during this first Period. In Sicily ten litrae had been valued as a didrachm; confer the tables, on p. 43 of Mr G. F. Hill's Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins; in Campania it seems probable that twelve may have been the number, but no definite proof seems to be shewn.

Here is a problem which we hope may some day be solved, but at present we must be content to recognize our ignorance; even the name *Litra* applied to these coins is only a modern assumption.

In this Romano-Campanian series we have eight types of bronze *litrae*, three of which belong to the first and the other five to the second Period.

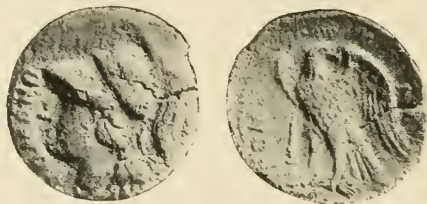
Although they are with one exception all common coins and may be bought for a few shillings, they are nevertheless interesting from their association with the Roman armies who conquered Campania and from the problem of their relative value to the contemporary didrachms.

TYPES OF THE LITRAE, &c.

I. Double *litra*. Size slightly over an inch in diameter. Weight of specimen in Brit. Mus. : 236 grains; the ideal weight we should expect would be 240 grains and the specimen in the Museum may have lost quite the 4 grains needed to make its original weight.

Obv. Head of Pallas, in Corinthian helmet decorated with a griffin, to left.

ROMANO in front of the face.



Rev. An eagle standing on a fulmen with wings spread. In the field to left **ROMANO** with a symbol like a club or sword in sheath.

As the eagle is standing on a fulmen we may conjecture that it signified the bird of Zeus rather than a Roman symbol.

These are rare coins; specimens may be seen in the public Museums at London, Berlin, Vienna, and Naples.

Bahrfeldt attributed these coins to Capua, Carraci to Locri, Babelon to Consentia in Bruttium. Although the eagle is found on silver coins of Capua with the legend **ΚΑΝΝΑ** the style of these bronze coins is very different.

II. *Litra*. Size nearly three-quarters-of-an-inch in diameter; weight 120 grains.

Obv. Head of Pallas to left in Corinthian helmet : without legend.

Rev. Head and neck of horse bridled to right, on a slight shallow base, the mane hogged, or close cropped : **ROMANO** behind.



In the Bahrfeldt collection is a specimen of a Hemi-litra with the legend **ON AM OЯ**. Some specimens of Hemi-litræ in the Cab. of Berlin, London, and Copenhagen have the head of Pallas to right, **ROMANO** on Obv., and on the Rev. the head of the horse turned to left.

Some barbarous specimens of these coins are found. The head of Pallas is similar to that on coins of Syracuse struck circa 317 B.C. Many specimens were found at Vicarello.



III. Litra. Size, the same. Weight from 120 to 123 grains.

Obv. Head of Apollo to right with hair bound with taenia.

Rev. A lion to right with tail raised as if lashing the air, his head turned facing; he is biting a spear, or, as some think, a serpent. In the exergue **ROMANO**.

There is great variety in the style of work, some specimens being much finer than others, some almost rude.

Specimens are to be seen in the British Museum, at Turin, Berlin, Gotha and Naples. Some specimens are to be found with the head of Apollo turned to left at Gotha, Glasgow, Berlin, London, Copenhagen and Naples. One example is known restruck on a coin of Luceria; it was found in the deposit of Vicarello.

BRONZE COINS OF PERIOD II WITH ROMA.

In the second Period the struck bronze coins are still to be looked upon as a token currency "but they are smaller, consisting of tenths and twentieths of the scruple, i. e. libellæ and sembellæ"; this is

Dr Haeberlin's remark upon these coins as given in page 115 *Num. Chron.* (Part. I, 1907, series IV no 25).

But when we go to look at these coins in the British Museum we find them called *Litræ*, *Hemi-litræ*, and *Quarter litræ*.

There are five types, four of which are copied from the silver coinage with which they were issued. The *Litræ* appear to weigh about 100 grains, the *Hemilitræ* 50 grs., *Quarter-litræ* 25 gr. The word *Libella* is a diminutive of *libra* or *litra*. Varro (*L. L.* 5, 36, 43) says "*numi denarii decuma libella quod libram pondo aeris valebat*", and Pliny (33, 13) "*librales unde etiam nunc libella dicitur ad dupondius appendebantur asses*". Hence proverbially or colloquially "*libella*" was used for any small coin; hence "*ad libellam*" meant exactly, our "*to a farthing*". The "*sembellæ*" were half *libellæ* (*semi libellæ*). Varro says (*L. L.* 5, 36, 4, 8) "*sembella quod libellæ dimidium quod semis assis*".

But apparently from Varro (10, 3, 169), these words were used of small silver coins. "*Eandem rationem habere assem ad semissen quam habet in argento libella ad sembellam*". Dr Haeberlin probably used these words in their general colloquial sense of a small coin.

IV. *Litra*. Weight of specimen in Brit. Mus. 99 grs. Size $\frac{3}{4}$ inch.
Obv. Head of Hercules to right.



Rev. Pegasus flying to right; no ground line.

ROMA in field under Pegasus. A club in field above. Compare coins of Capua with similar $\text{R}\chi$. type and $\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$.

Compare also bronze coins of Frentrum, and didrachms of Syracuse issued 345-337 B.C.

V. *Hemilitra*; weight about 50 grs.; size $\frac{5}{8}$ inch.

Obv. Head of Mars to right, wearing Corinthian helmet; behind a club: border of dots.



Rev. A free horse prancing to right, above, a club, below, **ROMA**.

Similar to the didrachm no VI. \mathcal{A} .

In the Museum at Naples is a bronze figure of a prancing horse of the third century B.C. very similar.

VI. Hemilitra. Same size as no II.

Obv. Head of Mars to right wearing Corinthian helmet : border of dots.



Rev. Head and neck of horse to right ; behind, a falx. **ROMA** in exergue.

Similar to the type of didrachm no VII. \mathcal{A} . With these bronze coins we may compare those of Coza, and Velechia.

VII. Hemilitra called Libella by Haeberlin. Size $\frac{5}{8}$ inch ; weight 50 grs.

Obv. Head of Apollo to right laureated.



Rev. Horse, free, prancing left ; **ROMA** beneath the body, or above.

Similar to type of didrachm no V. \mathcal{A} .

VIII. Quarter litra called Sembella by Haeberlin. Size $\frac{7}{16}$ inch.

Weight 25 grs.

Obv. Head of Roma in Phrygian helmet to right, border of dots.



Rev. A dog to right looking up with his off fore-paw raised. The head is like that of a greyhound. In exergue **ROMA** with varied shapes of letters.

TYPES OF THE SEMILIBRAL SERIES.

The As and the Semis of this series have not been found.

I. TRIENS. Size $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. Value 96 Scriptula of the Heavy Pound of 327.45 grammes.

Obv. Head of Juno (?) to right wearing diadem with winglike side decoration, and with sceptre over shoulder; behind OOOO : border of dots.

Rev. Hercules standing nearly facing, wielding club in right hand, and grasping by the hair the centaur Nessus, turned to right; in front OOOO. In exergue ROMA or A.

The story of Hercules slaying the centaur who carried Deianeira across the river Evenus is told by Sophocles in his play Trachiniae (556) and by Apollodorus (II, 7).

The familiarity of these Campanians with this Greek legend is noticeable.

Specimens may be seen in all the national Cabinets.

II. QUADRANS. Size $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch. Value 72 Scriptula. Weight of specimen in Brit. Mus. : 627 grs.

Obv. A beardless male head wearing a wolf's skin or boar's skin cap; behind OOO : border of dots.

Rev. A bull galloping to right, his head turned facing, above OOO, below a snake with crested head advancing also to right. In exergue ROMA.

A similar head in a wolf-skin or boar-skin cap may also be seen on coins of Etruria. At first sight it resembles the head of Heracles in the lion's skin, and one naturally asks whether the change to the wolf's skin, if it is a wolf's skin, was an Italian artist's idea or whether the head may be meant for some other Italian deity.

The head-dress on the obverse is called a wolf's skin by M. A. Sambon, but is by others called a boar's skin, because of the tooth curled upwards plainly seen on some specimens. It is thought to be the head of Heracles wearing the skin of the Erymanthian boar (Apollodorus, II, 5, § 4. Diodorus, IV, 12).

The significance of the Rev. type, the bull and the serpent, has not yet been satisfactorily explained. It has been suggested that the bull was an emblem of power, and such may have been its meaning on coins of Augustus. On coins issued during the Social war we see the bull goring a wolf; there evidently the bull signified the power of the Italian party, and the wolf that of Rome.

Is it not possible that the common bronze coins bearing the bull copied from the coins of Neapolis may have suggested the adoption of this type as a symbol of Campanian power?

If this was the case we see an old emblem used with a new meaning, the symbol of the nature power of moisture, used as that of the warlike power of the worshippers of Dionysus.

The bull may be seen on didrachms of the Epirote republic issued before 238 B. C. They are illustrated on p. 274 of Dr Head's *Historia Num.* On them the bull is surrounded with a wreath; they are however later than the Campanian coins, and whatever idea that represented, the Campanians did not copy it.

The serpent is not being trampled under the hoofs of the bull, but advancing with it.

At that time the serpent was a symbol of life, not of evil to be trodden under foot. The meaning of the type is still a subject of enquiry, and any help in interpreting this type will be welcomed by numismatists. Some have thought this coin might be compared with the common denarius of Julius Caesar on which is seen an elephant trampling on an object which has wrongly been called a serpent; it is a carynx or Gallic trumpet.

On bronze coins of Samnium after 268 B. C. issued in Aesernia we see an eagle fighting with a snake, and there the snake may be the symbol of Samnium as the eagle was of Rome. Compare the similar design on a coin of Etruria illustrated on p. 77 of A. Sambon's work *Monnaies antiques de l'Italie*. On didrachms of Elis an eagle contending with a serpent is seen from 271-191 B. C., but this may be a reference to a passage in Homer, and is quite independent of the Campanian series.

III. SEXTANS. Size $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch; value 48 scriptulæ. Weight of specimens in Brit. Mus. : 450 grs.

Obv. A wolf to right suckling the twins and turning the head to caress them. In exergue **O O** : border of dots.

Rev. An eagle to right with closed wings, holding a leaf of a flower in beak, behind **O O**, before **ROMA** : a circle around.

An eagle on a fulmen occurs on coins of Capua but with wings open and the legend **ΠΠΛΛ**.

An eagle with closed wings is seen on the small silver coins of Alba Fucens, and on staters of Agrigentum issued 472-415 B. C.

An eagle with closed wings is seen on coins of Elis 392-322 B. C., and on didrachms of Croton, but on these the bird is the symbol of Zeus.

Confer the eagle's head on a coin of Elis with a leaf in the beak figured on Plate 1 of 'Catalogue of Greek coins of an American Collector', 20th April 1909, Sotheby Wilkinson and Hodge, Wellington St., Strand, London.

May we regard the eagle on these sextantes as the symbol of Roma?

IV. UNCIA. Size 1 inch. Value 24 Scriptulæ. Weight of specimen in Brit. Mus. : 225 grains.

Obv. Radiated head of Helios, full-face ; **O** on left of neck : border of dots.

Rev. A crescent with ends upwards and two stars of eight rays each, in field above the mark of value **O**, between the stars.

Under the crescent **ROMA** ; a circle around. A similar head of Helios is found on coins of Velechia and also of Atella.

A crescent-moon is also seen on coins of Etruria ; some also bear the two stars.

V. SEMIUNCIA. Size $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, value 12 Scriptulæ, weight of specimen in Brit. Mus. : 123 grains.

Obv. Head of female deity wearing turreted diadem, to right (perhaps the Tyche of the city) : border of dots.

Rev. A horseman galloping to right wielding a whip ; below the horse **ROMA** : a circle around.

On some specimens the breasts of the figure on the horse are much developed.

VI. Perhaps Semiuncia.

Obv. Head of Ceres to right ; behind, an uncertain letter, perhaps **S** : border of dots.

Rev. Heracles with the doe of Cerynceia in Arcadia. Perhaps copied from the celebrated bronze in the Museum at Palermo ; a specimen is in the Museum at Turin. The story is told by Diodorus Sic. (IV, 13).

QUADRANTAL SERIES.

ISSUED AFTER 264 B. C.

The year 264 B. C. was the first year of the first Punic war. In the fourth year of the war the Carthaginians ravaged the coasts of Italy.

This quadrantal series which seems to be represented only by quadrantes, was issued some time during this war.

The types are the same as those of the quadrantes of the third Period, the distinguishing mark is the ear of corn added to the type of the reverse ; above the sign of value **OOO**.

No other parts of the As belonging to this series are known.

Size $1\frac{4}{10}$ inch, weight varying from 242 to 107 grs.

The writer has seen a smaller specimen.

ROMANO-CAMPANIAN BRONZE.

| | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| The Libral As of 335-286 B. C. | weighed 272.875 grammes. |
| | 4210.04 grains. |
| Semi-libral As of 286-268 B. C. | weighed 136.44 grammes. |
| | 2105.02 grains. |
| Sextantal As of 268-217 B. C. | weighed 54.58 grammes. |
| | 842. grains. |
| The Uncial As of 217 B. C. | weighed 27.29 grammes. |
| | 421. grains. |

I

Dr Haeberlin shews that the original Roman As of the Metropolis never weighed 327.45 grammes. The heavier specimens, which were thought to belong to this heavy weight, were pieces of the old Roman Pound over-struck with the types of the As of 272.875 grammes. The great majority of the specimens existing weigh about 272 grammes. Dr Haeberlin found, by weighing over 1100 specimens of the Roman As, that the mean weight was 267.62 grammes which represents a loss of about 5 grammes through wear.

The Pound of 327.45 grammes was only used outside the metropolis and it appeared in the form of the heavy Janus with *℞*. Mercury series, in Latium.

This weight was exceeded frequently, and many specimens are over-struck, some weighing 360 grammes, and one specimen in Dr Haeberlin's collection weighs 400 grammes. The origin of the theory that there was a Quadrantal series may be traced to the fact that struck coins of the later reduction only weigh about half of the coins of the earlier period, and several sextantes of the later period are over-struck on Unciae of the earlier Period.

The true explanation of these facts is that the bronze coinage was brought into harmony with the six scruple *Romano* didrachms at Capua about 312 B. C. The scripulum of 1.137 grammes in the proportion of 1 : 120 was the equivalent of the Roman Semis of the Oscan pound of 136.44 grammes (2105.02 grains) and the scripulum became the silver unit of Rome. All the Asses of reduced weight, whatever their weight may be, are in one sense to be classed as Semilibral; because their value is the silver Scripulum, the value of the old Semis; they are in fact 'token money'.

This unsatisfactory condition of the bronze coinage came to an end in 268 B. C. when the Denarius was introduced, viz. Denarius of 4.548 grammes (or 70.22 grains) $\times 120 = 545.75$ grammes of Æ , that is to say it equals ten Asses of 54.58 grammes.

Pliny's remarks are not to be received as a reasonable explanation of the reduction of the As; he imagined that the state was in such a miserable condition owing to the drain upon its resources during the Punic war, that the As was reduced from 288 scrupula, i. e. from 327.45 grammes to a sextans, and that the State made from this proceeding a profit of five-sixths.

The State never made the slightest profit to the detriment of the private citizen in making this alteration of the coinage, and when we understand it correctly, we see that all these values rest on the solid basis of strict Roman law.

It will be seen from the Tables given in this paper that Nos I, III and IV were duodecimal, but No II decimal, while the scruple had ten libellae and the semilibral As was nothing else than the scruple expressed in bronze.

On account of this the semilibral Unciae ($=\frac{1}{10}$ of 136.44 grammes) have the weight of $\frac{1}{24}$ of 327.45 gram., that is to say a semilibral sextans of 27.29 grammes weighs exactly the same as the ounce of the pound of 357.45, which likewise weighed 27.29 gram. With the coinage of the Denarius in 268 B. C. the new pound of 327.45 gram. was introduced in the Metropolis. The Sextantal As represented therefore one-sixth and the Uncial As one-twelfth of this.

It has been suggested that the type of the bull and the snake on the quadrans of the semilibral series may have some connection with the Persian myth of Mithras, but this does not seem to be at all probable, because that myth was never received by the Greeks, and the earliest notices of Mithras in Italy are much later in date than the period at which these coins were issued. The cult of Mithras is mentioned by Herodotus, Xenophon, and Strabo, but only as a foreign cult of the ancient enemies of the Greeks. The earliest mention of this cult in Italy is that made by Plutarch.

Then there is the last line of Book I of the Thebaid of Statius written about 90 A. D. "seu Persei sub rupibus antri indignata sequi torquentem cornua Mithram". The earliest Mithraic inscription is that of a freedman of a Flavian Emperor. The earliest marble sculpture of Mithras in Italy is one dedicated by a slave of T. Claud. Livinianus, a prefect of Trajan. The best and latest work on the subject is by Franz Cumont, "Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra".

THE SIX DIFFERENT POUNDS OF ITALY.

The study of Metrology presents so many difficulties and is associated with so many doubts as to the very foundations of the science that it is unpopular and very generally neglected.

All therefore who wish to know something of the relative values of the coins of this series must feel that they owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Haeberlin for publishing the results of his studies. With the help of his work on "the Metrological foundation of the Middle-Italian Systems of Money", we may draw up tables of weights which are in harmony with the older Eastern systems from which they were derived, but the weights of the coins themselves vary so much and the various writers who have treated the subject differ so widely that we cannot hope to arrive at any satisfactory result without more trouble than most students are willing to take. Perhaps we are wrong in expecting the precision of modern work in the systems of men so recently emerging from barbarism.

Dr. Haeberlin has shewn in his work "*Die Metrologischen Grundlagen der ältesten Mittelitalischen Münzsysteme*" published in the "*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*" (XXVII Band) that there were six different weights called Asses, Libræ or Pounds, in Middle and Southern Italy, a long time before the introduction of money in Rome and the other territories of Central Italy.

He has named them : 1) the Oscan, 2) the Neo-Roman, 3) the Phoenician or East Italian, 4) the Italian, 5) the Umbrian, and 6) the Sicilian Pounds.

It is interesting to notice that all these systems are of Babylonian or of Phoenician origin, and were brought from the East by the Phoenician traders. The figures given in the following tables are the exact proportions aimed at rather than those attained, for the coins preserved to our day in perfect condition seldom weigh exactly what they should do according to the Tables. The process of coining copper and silver was rude in comparison with modern methods, but the gold coins were more carefully treated and are of good weight.

TABLE OF THE SIX POUNDS AND THEIR TALENTS.

| | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|---------|--|
| I The Osco-Latin | 272.875 = 1/120 | 327.45. | Light Bab. \mathcal{R} . Common Norm. |
| II The Neo-Roman | 327.45 = 1/100 | — | — |
| III The Italian | 341.10 = 1/100 | 341.10. | Light Bab. \mathcal{R} . Royal Norm. |

| | | | | |
|-------------------|--------|---------|----------|------------------------------------|
| IV The Phoenician | 379.00 | = 1/100 | 37900. | Phoenician heavy Æ. Royal Norm. |
| V The Umbrian | 255.82 | = 1/120 | 30698.44 | Light Bab. weight Royal Norm. |
| VI The Sicilian | 218.30 | = 1/100 | 21830. | Light Phoen. Æ. Common Norm. |

N^{os} I and II differ only in dividing the same Talent in different ways. No I into a Mina of 1/60 and No II into a Mina of 1/50.

The division into 1/60 is earlier than that into 1/50.

Out of the Common Norm there arose three heightened or Royal Norms of the original Talents :

That raised by 1/20 = the Royal Norm A ;

That raised by 1/24 = the Royal Norm B ;

That raised by 1/36 = the Royal Norm C.

The Talents of Nos III, IV and V are all of the Royal Norm B.

The introduction of the Babylonian and Phoenician weight systems into Central Italy has been treated by Dr Haeberlin in the *Berliner Münzblätter* of 1908, in an article entitled “ Roms Eintritt in den Weltverkehr ”.

In this article Dr. Haeberlin shews that three different weight systems were introduced, and on these the systems of weighing gold, silver and copper were founded.

I. The double system of the Light Babylonian Silver Talent.

a) The light Babylonian Silver Talent of the Common Norm of 32745 gr.

b) The light Babylonian Silver Talent of the Royal Norm of 34110 gr.

II. The Heavy Phoenician Silver Talent of the Royal Norm of 37900 gr. derived as 5/6 of a Talent of 4580 gr.

III. The light Babylonian Weight Talent of the Royal Norm of 30698.44 gr.

The Sicilian litra is 1/100 of the Common Norm of the light Phoenician Silver Talent of 21830 gr.

THE THREE ORIGINAL WEIGHT SYSTEMS.

I

The Two Light Babylonian Silver Talents.

1. The Talent of the Common Norm of 32745 gr. spreading to South Etruria, Rome, Latium, Campania from which was derived in Bronze two Libral As systems.

a) The Osco-Latin Pound of 272.375 gr. = 1/120 of the Talent. The Roman reduction to half the weight.

b) The Neo-Roman Pound of 327.45 gr. = 1/100 of the Talent. Pounds Nos I and II.

2. The Talent of the Royal Norm B of 34110 gr. spread as No 1, Apulia and Samnium.

A. In gold and silver.

a) The heavy Etruscan Silver system with a stater of 11.37 gr. Litra of 1.137 gr. = scriptulum; gold of $1/4$ stater and lighter.

b) The Romano-Campanian Six scruple system. Silver and gold Didrachms and Drachms of 6.82 and 3.41 gr.

B. In Bronze an As system according to the Italian Pound of 341.10 gr. = $1/100$ Talent.

Pound No III.

II

The Talent of 37900 gr. = the Phoenician reduced Talent ($5/6$ of the heavy Phoenician Silver Talent of the higher Norm B of 45480 gr.).

This was spread over Campania, Apulia, Vestini, Picenum, Eastern Etruria, and in the North West to Volterra.

1. In Silver the Phoenician Didrachms and Drachms of 7.58 and 3.79 gr.

2. In Bronze two As systems. Pound No iv.

a) According to the East Italian, Picenian or Phoenician Pound of 379 gr. = $1/100$ of the Talent.

b) According to $1/5$ of the heavy Mina of 758 gr. = 151.60 gr., the As weight.

III

The Talent of 30698.44 gr. = Light Babylonian Weight Talent, heightened Norm B.

1. In Silver the light Etruscan Silver system. Stater of 8.53 gr.

2. In Bronze two As systems.

a) According to the pound of 255.82 gr. = $1/120$ Talent.

b) According to $1/5$ of the heavy Mina of 1023.28 gr. Pound No v. 204.66. As weight.

NOTES ON THE THREE SYSTEMS.

A. To the first of the three systems belong the Pounds of 272.875 gr., 327.45 gr. and 341.10 gr. numbered I, II and III in our list of the six pounds.

I. *Talent of 32745 gr.*

1) Divided in 60 Minas of 545.75 gr., 100 Half Minas of 272.875 gr. (Oscan-Latin Pound).

2) Divided in 50 Minas of 645.90 gr., 100 Half Minas of 322.45 gr. (Neo-Roman Pound).

II. *Talent of 34110 gr.*

Divided in 50 Minas of 682.20 gr., 100 Half Minas of 341.10 gr. (Italian Pound). To these belong the following Libral - As Series:

To I, 1; the Roman Series (of the “ urbs ”) with the prow, circa 335-286 B.C.

The light Roman-Latin Series (cast by Romans at Capua for the use of the Latins, circa 312-286 B.C.) :

a) The Latin Wheel-series.

b) The Series with the head of Roma without symbols, or with the club on both sides.

c) The light Mercury and Janus series with the sickle on reverse.

d) The light Apollo series with bunch of grapes on both sides; the Kantharos series of the Roman Colony at Cales, after 312 B.C., a certain portion of the autonomous Aes grave of Central-Italy; at last the Roman Reduction: As in weight of the Libral-Semis = 136.44 gr., between 286 and 268 B.C.

To I, 2; the Heavy Mercury and Janus series without symbols, 286-268 B.C., another portion of the autonomous Aes grave of Central Italy.

(In the year 268 B.C. the pound of 327.45 gr. was introduced also in the Capital; it is the basis of the new bimetallic system; Sextantal-As = $1/6$; Denarius = $1/72$, Quinarius = $1/144$, Sestertius = $1/288$ of this pound).

To II; the heavy Apollo series without symbols, circa 286-268 B.C. in Apulia the Libral series of Luceria and of Venusia;

The Romano-Campanian silver and gold struck by Rome since the year 312 B.C. Didrachm 6.82 gr. = $1/50$, drachm 3.41 gr. = $1/100$ of the Pound of 341 gr.

The heavy Etruscan silver standard: Stater of 11.37 gr. and its Litra or the scripulum of 1.137 gr.; since circa 400 B.C., vide p. 10.

B. *The second system* Talent of 37900 gr. :

1) Divided in 50 Minas of 758 gr., 100 Half Minas of 379 gr.

2) Divided in 50 Minas of 758 gr., 250 As of 151.60 gr.

In regard to 1) The Phoenician silver Standard, Didrachm 7.58 gr. = $1/50$, Drachm 3.79 = $1/100$ of the Pound; in Campania various autonomous cities, and the older Roman-Campanian silver (335-312 B.C.), in Apulia = Arpi, Teate.

The heavy Libral series (As of 379 gr.) : Vestini, Hatria, (Picenum), Ariminum (Umbria), after 300 B.C.

In regard to 2) The light Etruscan As series (As of 151.60 gr. = $1/5$ Mina), after 300 B.C.

C. *To the third system*, Talent of 30698.44 gr.

1) Divided in 60 Minas of 511.64 gr., 120 Half-Minas of 255.82 gr. (Pound).

2.60 double Minas of 1023.28 gr. divided each in 5 Asses of 204.66 gr.

In regard to 1) the light Etruscan silver standard, Didrachm 8.53 gr. = $1/60$ Mina, since circa 450 B.C. the Libral series of Tuder (Umbria), As of 255.82 gr., circa 300 B.C.

In regard to 2) the heavy Etruscan As series (As of 204.66 gr. = $\frac{1}{5}$ of the heavy Mina), after 300 B.C.

i. e. the heavy Etruscan As of 204.66 gr. is not to be regarded as $\frac{2}{5}$ of the light Mina of 511.64 gr. but as $\frac{1}{5}$ of the heavy Mina of 1023.28 gr.

I. THE OSCO-LATIN POUND.

This is sometimes called the older light Roman Pound. The weight of this pound was 272.875 gr. and its origin was from the Light Babylonian Silver Talent of the Common Norm.

| | | |
|-------------|----------|--------------------------------|
| Talent | 32745.00 | |
| Mina | 545.75 | = $\frac{1}{60}$ of the Talent |
| Half Mina | 272.875 | = $\frac{1}{120}$ — |
| Stater | 10.915 | = $\frac{1}{50}$ of the Mina |
| Half Stater | 5.458 | $\frac{1}{100}$ — |

This pound, we know from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, was in use in Rome as early as 477 B.C.

It was likewise the Pound of Southern Etruria, of Latium, and of the Oscan part of Campania. On this pound was founded the libral As series of Rome, and the As reduced to one half.

The division of the Libral series was duodecimal.

THE AS OF THE OSCAN POUND.

Libral As and Duodecimal divisions.

| | | |
|-----------|------------------|-----------------|
| Tressis | 818.625 gram. or | 12630.12 grains |
| Dupondius | 545.75 — | 8420.08 — |
| As | 272.875 — | 4210.04 — |
| Semis | 136.44 — | 2105.02 — |
| Triens | 90.96 — | 1403.34 — |
| Quadrans | 68.22 — | 1052.31 — |
| Sextans | 45.48 — | 735. — |
| Uncia | 22.74 — | 350.92 — |
| Semiuncia | 11.37 — | 175.46 — |

Semi-libral As and Decimal divisions.

| | | |
|------------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| Decussis | 1364.40 gram. | |
| Tressis | 409.31 — | 6315.06 grains |
| Dupondius | 272.875 — | 4210.04 — |
| As | 136.44 — | 2105.02 — |
| Semis or $\frac{5}{10}$ | 68.32 — | 1052.51 — |
| Triens or $\frac{4}{10}$ | 54.58 — | 842 — |
| Quadrans or $\frac{3}{10}$ | 40.93 — | 631.50 — |
| Sextans or $\frac{2}{10}$ | 27.29 — | 421 — |
| Uncia or $\frac{1}{10}$ | 13.64 — | 210.50 — |
| Semiuncia or $\frac{1}{20}$ | 6.82 — | 105.25 — |
| Quartuncia or $\frac{1}{40}$ | 3.41 — | 52.62 — |

The names for parts of the decimal As, Quincunx, Teruncius, Biunx were not used in Rome, only in Eastern Italy.

The relative value of silver to bronze was 1 : 120. The reduced As was divided decimally because it was the copper equivalent of the silver unit, the scripulum, and silver was reckoned decimally.

Since the Aerarium was obliged to exchange each reduced As for a silver scripulum the weight of the As was gradually diminished, but even the lightest As of 50 gr., or even less, had the value of the full semilibral standard. Of the Libral system the Triple and Double Asses occur only in the Roman Latin Wheel series while during the period of the Reduction the Decussis, Tressis and Dupondius were also cast in the Capital, but not of full weight, because they were not cast at the beginning of the period.

II. THE NEO-ROMAN POUND.

The weight of this pound was 327.45 gr.

It was adopted by Rome in the year 286 B.C. as her coinage for Latium and is represented by the Heavy Janus and Mercury series. It is the half Mina of the common norm of the light Babylonian Silver Talent of 327.45 gr. This talent is the centumpondium of the Pound.

Talent, 327.45 gr.

Mina, $1/50$ Talent 654.90 gr.

Half Mina, $1/100$ Talent 327.45 = the Pound or As.

The various proportions of the As.

| | | |
|----------|-------------------|--------------|
| As | 327.45 grammes or | 5050 grains. |
| Semis | 163.72 — | 2525 — |
| Triens | 109.15 — | 1684 — |
| Quadrans | 81.86 — | 1262 — |
| Sextans | 54.58 — | 842 — |
| Uncia | 27.29 — | 421 — |
| Semuncia | 13.64 — | 210.5 — |

In the year 268 B.C. this new Pound was introduced also into the Capital, and was the basis of the bimetallic system.

Æ. Denarius X 4.548 grammes = 4 scripula = 10 Asses
sexantal

Quinarius V 2.274 — = 2 scripula = 5 —

Sestertius IIS 1.137 — = 1 scripulum = 2 $1/2$

Æ. Sextantal AS = 54.58 grammes or 842 grains.

Semis 27.29 — 421 —

Triens 18.19 — 280 —

| | | | | |
|----------|-------|---|------|---|
| Quadrans | 13.64 | — | 210 | — |
| Sextans | 9.09 | — | 140 | — |
| Uncia | 4.548 | — | 70.2 | — |

One Denarius = 120 unciaë, each of the same weight as the Denarius, so silver was to bronze 1 : 120.

III. THE ITALIAN POUND.

Weighing 341.10 gr. This pound is 1/100 of the light Babylonian Silver Talent of the royal norm of 3410 gr., heavier 1/24 than the same talent of the common norm of 32745; therefore both talents are in the proportion of 24 to 25.

In the original Babylonian division into 60 Minas we find this talent in Etruria, then in Campania divided in 50 Minas.

Etruscan division :

| | | | |
|--------------|---------------------|--------|-----|
| Talent | | 34110 | gr. |
| Mina, | 1/60 Talent | 568.49 | |
| Half Mina, | 1/120 — | 284.25 | |
| Stater, | 1/50 Mina | 11.37 | |
| 1/2 Stater, | 1/100 — | 5.685 | |
| 1/10 Stater, | 1/500 — (scripulum) | 1.137 | |

Romano-Campanian division :

| | | | |
|------------|---------------|--------|-----|
| Talent | | 34110 | gr. |
| Mina, | 1/50 Talent | 682.20 | |
| Half Mina, | 1/100 (Pound) | 341.10 | |
| Didrachm, | 1/50 Pound | 6.82 | |
| Drachm, | 1/100 — | 3.41 | |
| Scripulum, | 1/300 — | 1.137 | |

The Stater of 11.37 gr. is the stater of the heavy Etruscan silver system from about 400 B.C.; in this system the value of 2.274 gr. viz. the heavy or the double scripulum is the silver equivalent of the Oscan-Latin copper pound of 272-875 gr. and therefore of great importance for Rome, whose system of libral aes grave was founded on this pound. Rome herself in the reform of her Campanian silver currency in the year 312 B.C. instead of the didrachm of 7.58 gr. (Phoenician standard) issued the didrachm of 6.82 gr., with the drachm of 3.41 gr. and divided the drachm in three scripula of 1.137 gr. After this time the scripulum was the silver unity of Rome and remained as such a unit also in the denarius-currency under the name of "sestertius". Being the silver equivalent of the libral Oscan Semis of 136.44 gr. the scripulum had such an influence

on the bronze currency of the Capital, that the Roman Libral As of 272.375 gr. was reduced to the Half (136.44 gr.), so that the Semi-libral As and the scripulum represented the same value in bronze and in silver. *That is the beginning of the Roman bimetallic system*, which we find continued also in the denarius-currency during the sextantal and uncial currency of the As. The types of the six-scruple didrachms are the following :

- a) in the second period (312-286 B.C.) :
 Head of Roma in Phrygian helmet and Victoria **ROMANOM** ;
 Head of Apollo and his horse, **ROMA** ;
 Head of Mars and club, and Horse and club **ROMA** ;
 Head of Mars and Horse's bust, sickle **ROMA** ;
- b) in the third period (after 286 B.C.) :
 Head of Janus and Jupiter in quadriga **ROMA** (Quadrigatus).

Together with the introduction of the quadrigati at Capua in the Capital begins the Semilibral-Reduction with the division of the As in 10 ounces, so that the 10 ounces of the reduced As are of the same value as the 10 bronze libellae¹ of the quadrigatus struck in the following pieces all with the inscription Roma :

| | | Roman reduced ounces. |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 4 Libellae = | Head of Juno, etc. | 54.58 gr. = 4 |
| 3 — | Head of Heracles, etc. | 40.93 = 3 |
| 2 — | Eagle, etc. | 27.29 = 2 |
| 1 — | Head of Sol, etc. | 13.64 = 1 |
| 1/2 — | Female head turreted and horseman | 6.82 = 1/2 |

The six-scruple Didrachm of 6.82 gr. contains $6 \times 20 = 120$ 1/2 libellae of 6.82 gr., silver to copper also at Capua = 1 : 120.

In the aes grave we find the pound of 341.10 gr. as well in the west as in the east of Italy.

a) In the west in one of the two heavy Roman Latin series, the heavy Apollo series, with division of the As in 12 ounces (circa 286-268 B.C.).

b) In the east applied by two Apulian cities, Luceria and Venusia, (Latin Colonies) as part of a decimal system (circa 300 B.C.).

DUODECIMAL SYSTEM OF BRONZE COINS.

| As | weighing | 341.10 grammes or | 5264 | grains. |
|---------|----------|-------------------|--------|---------|
| Semis, | 1/2 — | 170.55 — | 2632 | — |
| Triens, | 1/3 — | 113.70 — | 1754.6 | — |

1. B. The libella is 1/10 of the scripulum, 1/60 of the quadrigatus : the quadrigatus of 6.82 gr. therefore contains 60 libellae of 13.64 gr. or 120 libellae of 6.82 gr.

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|------|---|-------|---|-------|---|
| Quadrans, | 1/4 | — | 85.27 | — | 1316 | — |
| Sextans, | 1/6 | — | 56.85 | — | 877.3 | — |
| Uncia, | 1/12 | — | 28.43 | — | 438.6 | — |
| Semiuncia, 1/24 (none issued). | | | | | | |

DECIMAL SYSTEM.

| | | | | | | |
|------------|------|----------|--------|------------|--------|--------|
| As, | | weighing | 341.10 | grammes or | 5264 | grains |
| Quincunx, | 1/2 | — | 170.55 | — | 2632 | — |
| Quatrunx, | 4/10 | — | 136.44 | — | 2105.6 | — |
| Teruncius | 3/10 | — | 102.33 | — | 1579.2 | — |
| Biunx, | 2/10 | — | 68.22 | — | 1052.8 | — |
| Uncia, | 1/10 | — | 34.11 | — | 526.4 | — |
| Semiuncia, | 1/20 | — | 17.6 | — | 263.2 | — |

IV. THE PHOENICIAN POUND.

This pound of 379 gr. is the half of a Mina of 758 gr., the 1/60 of the heavy Phoenician Silver Talent of the royal norm weighing 45.480 gr. But since in Italy each pound is accompanied by its centumpondium, we have reason to believe that in Italy out of 50 Minas of 758 gr. was constructed a “derivated Phoenician” Talent of 37.900 gr.

Phoenician construction :

| | | | |
|-------------|-------------|--------|-----|
| Talent | | 45.480 | gr. |
| Mina, | 1/60 Talent | 758 | — |
| Half Mina, | 1/120 — | 379 | — |
| Stater, | 1/50 Mina | 15.16 | — |
| 1/2 Stater, | 1/100 — | 7.58 | — |
| 1/4 Stater, | 1/200 — | 3.79 | — |

Italian construction :

| | | | |
|-------------|-------------|-------|-----|
| Talent | | 37900 | gr. |
| Mina, | 1/50 Talent | 758 | — |
| Half Mina, | 1/100 Pound | 379 | — |
| Tetradrachm | | vacat | — |
| Didrachm, | 1/50 Pound | 7.58 | — |
| Drachm, | 1/100 — | 3.79 | — |

The Didrachm of 7.58 gr. in various autonomous cities of Campania was already in use before the Roman occupation and was applied also by Rome in the first period of her Campanian silver

currency, circa 335-312 B.C. The Didrachms struck by Rome during this period, all with the inscription **ROMANO**, are :

- a) Head of bearded Mars helmeted, horse's bust ;
- b) Head of Apollo, prancing horse and star ;
- c) Head of young Heracles, wolf and twins.

The drachm of 3.79 gr. was not coined, but there exists a rare litra ($1/10$ didrachm) of 0.76 gr. of the type a. As often in the later emissions of ancient coins we find a diminution of the weight. This is seen on Roman brass, and also on the later didrachms of Cales, Suessa, Teate, Nuceria, etc., which seldom surpass a weight of 7.20 or 7.30 gr. Of this light weight are also the didrachms of two Apulian cities Arpi and Teate.

Of a heavier weight are the drachms of Velia of 3.94 gr. That is the weight of Phokaea and of Karthago (double elevation of the common norm = $+ 1/12$) and therefore we may distinguish in Campania three silver standards :

Didrachm of 7.88 gr. = Phokaeian or old Campanian standard.
 — of 7.58 — = Phoenician or new Campanian standard.
 — of 6.82 — = Roman or Romano-Campanian (6 scruple = standard.)

In the *aes grave* on the pound of 379 gr. are founded the series of the Vestini, of Hatria (Picenum), and of Ariminum (Umbria) all after 300 B.C. Here in the east of Italy the division of this pound is always decimal.

| | | | | |
|-----------|---|----------|----------|-----------|
| As | = | 379 gr. | Biunx | 75.80 gr. |
| Quincunx | = | 189.50 — | Uncia | 37.90 — |
| Quatrunx | = | 151.60 — | Semuncia | 18.95 — |
| Teruncius | = | 113.70 — | | |

Also the light series of the Etruscan *aes grave* belongs to the system of the heavy Phoenician Mina of 758 gr. In Etruria the As is not identical, as in the other parts of Central Italy, with the market pound ; it is not a copper pound in the sense of a Half of the light Mina, but is the fifth part of a heavy Mina. The As weight of the light Etruscan *aes grave* is $1/5$ of the Mina of 758 gr. = 151.60 gr. and therefore the Quincussis is the full Mina. The system is the following :

| | | | | | | |
|------------|---|-------|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|
| Quincussis | = | 5 As | 758 — gr. | Triens | $1/3$ As | 50.53 gr. |
| Dupondius | = | 2 — | 303.20 — | Quadrans | $1/4$ — | 37.90 — |
| As | | | 151.60 — | Sextans | $1/6$ — | 25.27 — |
| Semis | = | $1/2$ | 75.80 — | Uncia | $1/12$ — | 12.63 — |

To this system belong the wheel and anchor series ; wheel and amphora ; archaic wheel on both sides ; archaic wheel and three

creascent, and the aes grave of Volterra, further the oval series. The Quincussis occur only in the wheel and anchor series. The whole Etruscan aes grave seems to be not older than 300 B.C.

V. THE UMBRIAN POUND.

The Umbrian pound weighed 255.82 gr. It is the Half of the Mina of the royal Norm B. of the Babylonian weight talent of 30698.44 gr.

| | |
|-------------------------|--------------|
| Talent | 30698.44 gr. |
| Mina 1/60 Talent | 511.64 |
| Half Mina 1/120 — Pound | 255.82 — |
| Stater 1/60 Mina | 8.527 — |
| 1/2 Stater 1/120 — | 4.264 — |

This is the original Babylonian division : Talent = 60×60 = 3600 Staters. This Talent was in use in a great part of Etruria and in the South of Umbria ; but since the pound in the form of the As only existed in Umbria, this pound was called by Dr. Haebler the Umbrian Pound.

In *Umbria* the city of Tudur founded her libral aes grave about 300 B.C. in conformity to this pound, divided into 12 ounces.

| | | | |
|--------|------------|----------|-------|
| As | 255.82 gr. | Quadrans | 63.95 |
| Semis | 127.91 — | Sextans | 42.64 |
| Triens | 85.27 — | Uncia | 21.32 |

In the *west of Etruria* the Stater of 8.53 gr. is the Stater of the light Etrurian silver system, and there is no doubt that Populonia commenced this currency at a very early period, about 450 B.C. The stater is signed with \times = 10 litrae, later with $\times \times$, when the litra of 85 gr. was diminished to the half = 43 gr.

In the *east of Etruria* the coins of the heavy series or the Etruscan aes grave are founded upon the same system ; they are the fifth part of the double (heavy) Mina of 1023.28 gr. The As weighing 1/5 = 204.66 gr. This division is duodecimal :

| | | | |
|--------|------------|----------|-----------|
| As | 204.66 gr. | Quadrans | 51.16 gr. |
| Semis | 102.33 — | Sextans | 34.11 — |
| Triens | 68.22 — | Uncia | 17.06 |

To this system belong (about 300 B.C.), the three heavy wheel series : wheel on both sides ; wheel and kantharus ; wheel and bipennis ; also the series with sacrificial instruments.

VI. SICILIAN COPPER POUND.

This pound is derived from the light Phoenician Silver Talent weighing 21.830, divided in 50 Minas as in the following Table :

| | | | |
|---------------------|--------|-----|------------------------|
| Talent | 21830 | gr. | |
| Mina 1/50 Talent | 436.66 | — | Attic Mina. |
| Half Mina 1/100 — | 218.30 | — | Sicilian Copper Pound, |
| Stater 1/50 Mina | 109.15 | | Sicilian Copper Litra, |
| Stater 1/50 Mina | 8.732 | — | Didrachm or Numos, |
| 1/2 Stater 1/100 — | 4.366 | — | Drachm, |
| 1/10 Stater 1/500 — | 8732 | — | Sicilian Silver Litra. |

The dividing of the Talent into 50 Minas is not Greek ; the Greek or Attic Talent belonging to this table has a weight of 26.196 gr. and is constructed out of 60 Minas of 436.66 gr. The Sicilians did not cast aes grave, but from a very remote time their account was based on the copper pound, the heavy Litra of 218.30 gr., later on the light Litra of 109.15 gr. ($1/2 =$ Pound). In the proportion of 1 : 125 the light Copper Litra is the equivalent of a silver weight of 8732 gr., Silver Litra. From the beginning the Sicilian coinage was in silver, and therefore we find the Litra coined in silver. An exception is found only in the coinage of the isle of Lipara (circa 400 B.C.) with its copper Litra of 109.10 gr. (struck, not cast, divided in 2 Hemilitras, 3 Tetras, 4 Trias, 6 Hexas and 12 Oncias). Also the silver litra. In fact a copper value was divided duodecimally in 12 ounces. The Attic values of Drachm, Didrachm, Tetradrachm etc., were adopted on the island as being $5 \times 10 \times 20 \times$, the Silver Litra and therefore the Sicilian division of these monies is not the division in obols (1 Attic Drachm = 6 Obols) but the division in Litras.

In the proportion of 1 : 125 a silver quantity of the weight of the Sicilian pound of 218.30 gr. was the equivalent of 100 Osco-Latin pounds copper, or 100 Roman Libral-Asses.

APULIA

The region called Apulia extends along the south-eastern coast of Italy for about a hundred and forty miles, and is about forty miles broad from East to West. The northern half, from the river Tifernus to the Aufidus, consists almost entirely of a great plain, sloping from the Apennines to the sea; the hilly and well wooded southern half was as thinly inhabited in the third century before Christ as it is now, except for a stretch of fertile plain, about ten miles broad, and fifty miles long, near the sea shore, which has always been well populated. On the great northern plains flocks of sheep and herds of horses were tended, and from these sheep the finest wool in Italy was supplied. There were three distinct national elements in the population; the Apulians dwelling in the northern plains, members of the Oscan or Ausonian race, were always hostile to the Samnites.

The inhabitants of the southern plains were Daunians of Pelasgic origin, and preserved legends of that race, such as that concerning Diomed; thus it was only natural that they should receive Greek culture with readiness, and cultivate friendship with the Greeks of Tarentum.

The men of the third race, the Peucetian, were called Poediculi; their language was quite distinct from the Oscan, and more allied to the Greek, yet sufficiently different to show it was not a mere corruption of that language. They probably came from the opposite coast of the Adriatic.

From Strabo we learn that in the earliest times the Daunians and Peucetians each had their own kings, and were friendly with the Tarentines.

No Greek colonies appear to have settled in Apulia, but the influence of Greek culture which spread as far north as Arpi and Canusium is evident, not only from the coinage, but also from the number of bronzes and vases which have been discovered in many of the Apulian cities.

They are said to vie with the richest finds of Campania, although they are generally specimens of the period of decadence in Art. The intercourse of the Apulians with Rome began about the time of the Second Samnite War, circa 326 B.C., when Livy informs us the Apulians made an alliance with Rome (VIII 25.), which, however, they very soon afterwards appear to have broken.

In 338 B.C. when Alexander the Molossian came to help the

Tarentines he united under his banner contingents of the Poediculi from round Rubi who sought his protection from the Sabellians; accordingly Alexander subdued the Daunians round Sipontum and the Messapians in the eastern peninsula; he then commanded the land from the western sea to the Adriatic, and began to arrange with the Romans to attack the Samnites in their native hills, but his project for uniting the Greeks of Magna Græcia failed on account of the jealousy of the Tarentines, and he fell at Poseidonia in 332 B.C., thus releasing the Samnites to face Rome with all their might. The Apulians, the ancient and bitter antagonists of the Sabellians, thus became the natural allies of the Romans.

There seems to have been no combination of the various tribes or cities, each city acting on its own authority, some taking the side of the Romans, others that of the Samnites.

In 317 B.C. all Apulia was brought into subjection to Rome (Livy, VIII, 37; IX. 12, 13, 16, 20).

In 297 B.C. Livy mentions a slight defection to the side of the Samnites, but Apulia had rest until the arrival of Pyrrhus, in 279 B.C., when he carried the war into Apulia, and took several cities; the others remained loyal to Rome, and helped the Romans in the battle of Ausculum (Zonaras, VIII, 5; Dionysius, XX).

During the Second Punic war the Carthaginians ravaged Apulia, and after the defeat of the Romans at Cannæ many cities opened their gates to Hannibal. The revolted cities were afterwards severely punished by the Romans, and from that time the prosperity of Apulia gradually faded.

Before the Apulians came into contact with Rome, during the period of the supremacy of Tarentum, the coins of that city were used throughout Apulia, and when some of the principal cities, such as Arpi, Caelia and Rubi, began to coin silver, the type of the Tarentine diobol, the hero Heracles strangling the lion, was adopted. The didrachms and drachms of Teate were also imitations of those of Tarentum.

| | | | | |
|----------|----------------|---------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|
| Arpi | 2 dr. 110 grs. | $\frac{1}{2}$ qr. 28 grs. | Nummus 17 grs. | $\frac{1}{2}$ Nummus 9 grs. |
| Caelia | — | — | — | — |
| Canusium | — | — | — | — |
| Rubi | — | — | — | — |
| Teate | — | drachm | — | — |

The Æs grave of Apulia appears also to have been based on the Tarentine nummus of 22 grs. for the proportion of value between silver and bronze was as 1 : 250 and the weight of the bronze was about 5000 grains, $22 \times 250 = 5500$. In Apulia the weight of the As was greater than on the western side of the Apennines.

Dr Head says in his *Historia Numorum* that the Tarentine coins

were replaced by the Apulian coinage about the year 300 B.C., when didrachms, half drachms, diobols and obols were issued at Arpi and other cities. The didrachms were assimilated in weight to those of Campania, but the lesser coins seem to be of Tarentine origin.

The Bronze coins of the Roman Colonies Luceria and Venusia were reduced to correspond with the reduction at Rome, but the other Apulian cities continued to issue bronze coins without marks of value and with Greek legends.

By degrees these Greek bronze coins were superseded by the Roman sextantal and uncial systems with marks of value.

The marks of value being **NI** = double nummus.

N = the nummus. The five dots **OOOOO** = the Quincunx.

OOOO = the Triens, **OOO** = the Quadrans.

OO = the Sextans **OS** = the Sescuncia.

O = the Uncia and **Σ** = the Semuncia.

ARPI.

Arpi, one of the oldest and most important of the Apulian cities, was situated in the midst of the great northern plain on a branch of the river Candelaro flowing into the Adriatic, near Sipontum, which was about 20 miles distant from Arpi. The nearest city of importance was Luceria, about thirteen miles to the west. The few remains of the city still existing are to be seen about five miles north of the modern town of Foggia. Ptolemy called it *Ἀρπυζι*, Pliny Arpanus, and Livy Arpinus.

The Greek legend of its foundation by Diomedes was the origin of the Greek name Argyrippa by which it was called by Strabo (VI. Casaub 283, c. III, § 9): "It was originally called Argos Hippium, then Argyrippa, and then again Arpi". But we have no other evidence that the natives ever called their city Argyrippa, and their coins all bear the name *Ἀρπυζι*; moreover the city was not a Greek colony, and is not mentioned in the list of such colonies made by Scylax or Scymnus Chius.

Böckh (explicat. ad Pind. Nem. X, p. 463) conjectured that Diomed is an ancient name of a Pelasgian divinity, afterwards confounded with the Greek hero of that name, who is said to have come to Italy after the siege of Troy, and to have died in Daunia. The legend agrees with the fact that very early Greek settlements were made in Italy.

The names of two magistrates of Arpi, Dasius and Pullus, are found upon the coins. Dasius seems to have been a not uncommon name. The Dasius of Salapia mentioned by Livy (XXVI, 38) who was killed in a massacre of the Punic garrison by Blattius is however

probably the same ruler of Arpi. Besides the Attinius Blasius of Arpi Livy mentions a Dasius who was in command of the garrison at Clastidium in 213 B.C. The name may perhaps mean “the irritable one”, or “the biter”, from $\beta\acute{\alpha}\acute{\alpha}\omega$, the first letter being omitted, as in the adverb $\beta\acute{\alpha}\acute{\alpha}$ for $\beta\acute{\alpha}\acute{\alpha}\omega$. In the year 213 B.C. Fabius the Consul came into Apulia, and Altinius Dasius came into his camp from Arpi by night attended by three slaves and offered to betray Arpi to him for a reward. As Dasius had deserted from the Romans after the defeat at Cannae and drawn Arpi into revolt, some of the officers thought he should be scourged and slain as a deserter, but Fabius, the father of the Consul, suggested that he should be bound and kept at Cales.

When Hannibal found out what had happened he summoned the wife and children of Dasius to his camp, and having burnt them alive, seized all the property of the wealthy traitor (Livy, XXIV, 45).

The legends $\Pi\omicron\Upsilon\Lambda\Lambda\iota$, or $\Pi\Upsilon\Lambda\Lambda\omicron\Upsilon$, or $\Pi\Upsilon\Lambda\Lambda\Upsilon$, represent the Roman name Pullus. In 249 B.C. L. Junius Pullus was Consul with P. Claudius Pulcher in the first Punic War. As this name (Pullus) does not seem to be at all common—the only other known as bearing this cognomen being Q. Numitorius Pullus of Fregellae, who betrayed his native town to Opimius in 125 B.C.—it seems probable that Junius Pullus may have been the Roman governor of Arpi at the time when these coins were issued. He is chiefly known by his naval misfortunes, which were attributed to his neglect of the auspices.

The story is told by Valerius Maximus (I, 4, § 3): “P. Claudius in the first Punic War, being ready to join battle, on seeking to know the signs after the old custom, when he that kept the birds told him that the chickens would not come out of their pens, commanded them to be cast into the sea, saying: ‘If they will not eat, let them drink’”

The same legend $\Pi\Upsilon\Lambda\Lambda\omicron\Upsilon$ occurs on coins of Salapia. In the year 214 B.C. Hannibal was at Arpi with his main army, watched by Tiberius Gracchus, who confronted him with four legions using Luceria as their base. The Roman generals, Q. Fabius and M. Marcellus, were besieging Capua. In the following year the Romans recovered Arpi, whose citizens helped the Roman soldiers against the Carthaginian garrison. Hannibal had gone to endeavour to raise the siege of Capua, and from thence down to Tarentum. In 207 B.C. Hannibal was encamped first at Canusium, then at Venusia, about forty-two miles south of Arpi, followed by Nero. It was to this last camp that the head of Hasdrubal was brought, after the defeat of his army, after which Hannibal retreated to Bruttium, leaving Apulia in peace.

SILVER COINS OF ARPI.

DIDRACHMS.

1. Size .9. Weight 110.8 (specimen in Brit. Mus.).

Obv. **ΑΡΓΑΝΩΝ**. Head of Persephone to left, bound with wreath



of barley, wearing earring and necklace; behind, an ear of barley with two leaves: a border of dots.

Rev. A horse prancing to left, above, a star of eight rays: beneath, **ΔΑΙΟΥ**.

II. Obv. Types the same as No. 1 but behind the head an amphora as symbol.

Rev. Same type as No. 1 but beneath legend a helmet with crest and cheek-pieces.

SMALLER SILVER COINS.

III. Size .35 or $\frac{3}{8}$ inch. Weight 10.8 grs.

Obv. A horse prancing to right, bridled; above, **A**: border of dots.



Rev. A hook with round handle; in field to right **A**: border of dots. The reaping hook may refer to the wheat fields belonging to the city.

IV. Size .5 or $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. Weight 15.6.

Obv. Head of Pallas to right, wearing crested helmet with a winged sea-horse on the helm.



Rev. A horse prancing to left. In the field above **ΑΓΡΑ**.

A specimen has been added to the Brit. Mus. since the Catalogue was published.

BRONZE COINS OF ARPI.

- I. Size .9. Obv. **ΑΡΠΑΝΩΙ**. Head of Persephone to left.
Rev. Horse prancing to left; above, a star of eight rays.
- II. Size .9. Obv. Head of Zeus to left, laureate, in front **ΔΑΙΟΥ**;
behind, thunderbolt: border of dots.
Rev. Calydonian boar running to right; above, a spear-head
pointing to right; **ΑΡΠΑΝΩΝ** in exergue.
- III. Size .7. Obv. Head of Mars to left, bearded, helmeted.
Rev. Three ears of barley joined at stalk in centre
- IV. Size .9. Obv. Head of Apollo to left.
Rev. Lion to right. In exergue **ΑΡΠΑΝΟΥ**.
- V. Size .6. Obv. Head of Pallas to right wearing crested Corinthian helmet.
Rev. A bunch of grapes; **ΑΡΓΑ** on right, **ΙΟΥ** on left: border of dots.
- VI. Size .8. Obv. A bull butting to right with near fore-leg raised; beneath, **ΡΟΥΛΛΙ**.
Rev. **ΑΡΓΑ**, above, **ΝΟΥ** below, horse prancing to right. On some the horse may be described as galloping, and the letter **Ε** beneath end of legend. On some the Obverse legend is



ΡΥΛΛΟ, on others it is **ΡΥΥΥΥ** with the Reverse legend **ΑΡΓΑ**
ΟΥ
 with same type.

AUSCULUM

This city was situated about six miles north of the river Aufidus, the southern boundary of the great northern plains of Apulia, and was about nine miles distant from Herdonia. Plutarch spelt the name *Ἀσκλην*, and Appian *Asculanus*; but on the coins it is spelt in Oscan letters *Aūhuskli* **AYHYΣKA** and in later coins **AYCKAA**, the **AY** was transliterated *Os* by some, as by Festus "*Osculana pugna*" (p. 197).

The modern city called Ascoli is built upon the old site on the low hills which rise from the edge of the plain until they join the Apennines.

The remains of the ancient city still to be seen outside the walls of Ascoli show that Ausculum flourished during the Empire, and as late as the reign of Valentinian, and from the absence of any mention of the city in the works of Strabo or Pliny we are led to regard the growth of its importance as due to the Romans rather than to the Apulians.

The most famous event connected with the city is the battle which was fought in the plain near its walls between the Romans and Pyrrhus in the year 279 B.C. Florus gives an interesting account of the battle (I, xviii) and describes the confusion wrought by the elephants in the army of Pyrrhus.

Pyrrhus was beaten "and retreated carried off by his guards, on his own shield" with a wound in his shoulder. Plutarch in his life of Pyrrhus (21) describes two days' fighting, the first favourable to the Romans, the second to Pyrrhus, and says that when Pyrrhus was congratulated on his victory he replied: "Such another victory and we are undone". Pyrrhus was much enfeebled by the losses he sustained, but the Romans easily made good their great loss of men. From Ausculum Pyrrhus returned to Tarentum and left Italy for Sicily.

EARLY BRONZE COINS BEFORE 300 B.C.

1. Size 75. Obv. **AYHYΣKA**. A horse's head to left, bridled.

Rev. **AYHYΣKA**. An ear of barley with leaf on left. (Brit. Mus. Cat. No. 1, 2 and 3.)

II. Size $\frac{5}{8}$. Obv. **ΑΥΨΥΣΚΛ**. A greyhound running to right on a round shield.



Rev. Similar to No. 1.
(Carelli, Plate LXIII, 2).

BRONZE COINS ISSUED BETWEEN 300 AND 200 B.C.

III. Size '8.....**ΧΟΥΑ** in exergue.

Calydonian boar, running to right ; above a spear-head to right.

Rev. Same as No. 1.

IV. Size $\frac{5}{8}$. Obv. A hound running to right.

Rev. Ear of barley with leaf on right.

V. Size '75. Obv. Head of young Heracles to left, wearing lion's skin ; behind neck, a club : border of dots.

Rev. **ΑΥΣΚΛΑ**. Nike to right holding wreath by fillet, and palm : border of dots.



(Brit. Mus. Cat., Nos. 5 and 6.)

APULIA or CALABRIA.

Two cities, Azetium and Butuntum, are generally classed by numismatists as belonging to Calabria, but nevertheless are acknowledged to belong to Apulia. This may be accounted for by the uncertainty of the way in which the boundaries of these districts were regarded by the ancients.

There appears to be no natural boundary such as a river or a chain of hills between these regions. From Strabo we can learn of no exact geographical boundary; he says: "above these (the Calabrians) towards the North lie the Peucetii, and those who are called Daunii in the Greek language, but the inhabitants call the whole region beyond the Calabri, Apulia". "Messapia forms a peninsula: the isthmus extending from Brentesium to Tarentum which bounds it, being three hundred-and-ten stadia across."

Under Vespasian the boundary of Calabria was extended farther to the North (liber Colon. p. 261).

The distance from Tarentum to the West coast is about 30 miles across the isthmus.

From Pliny's third book we know that in his time, that is, 23-79 A.D. several of the cities in Southern Apulia were accounted to be Calabrian. Hence the doubt in which region Azetium and Butuntum should be reckoned.

AZETINI.

In the Catalogues of the British and Berlin Museums the coins of Azetium are placed under Calabria, but there are two references to a town spelt somewhat differently, which have been thought to refer to the city from which the coins bearing **AIETINQN** were issued. The one is Ehetium in the Tabula Peutinger, in which the site is marked as twelve miles south-east of Bari, at a village now called Rutigliano; the other reference is that of Pliny to the Aegetini which he places among the "Calabrorum Mediterranei", and probably it was from this reference that the coins were placed under Calabria in the Brit. Mus. Catalogue. In Murray's Handy Classical Atlas Azetium is marked as in Apulia, about fifty-three miles north of Brundisium, and about thirty-five miles north of the border line between Apulia and Calabria. It was situated about five miles from the sea, on the fertile plain which stretches along that coast.

In Pauly's *Real Encyclopädie* Azetium is called "Stadt in Apulien". He does not add any further information to that here given.

The coins are all of bronze bearing legends in Greek characters and types copied from those of Tarentum and Metapontum.

Between 281 and 272 B.C. the drachms of Tarentum bore the head of Pallas, and an owl and olive-branch on the Reverse, and between 272-235 on the Reverse of drachms we find the owl seated on an Ionic capital, just as on the bronze coins of Azetium.

Among the bronze coins of Metapontum we find one type similar to that on another coin of Azetium; on the Obverse, an eagle to left with wings extended, on the Reverse an ear of barley and fulmen; this latter symbol is omitted on the similar coin of Azetium (confer p. 80, *Coins of Magna Graecia*, n° 17).

We may therefore ascribe the coins with the legend **AIETINON** to the period between 270 and 230 B.C. Their types like those of most of the Apulian cities bear witness to the influence of the Greek Colonists of the southern coast.

BRONZE COINS OF THE AZETINI.

I. Size .65.

Obv. An eagle to right, with wings extended, seated on a thunderbolt.



Rev. **AIET**, in field to left, an ear of barley with leaf on right side : plain border.

Rude, but clear and bold in execution.

II. Size .8.

Obv. Head of Pallas to right, wearing crested Corinthian helmet, earring and necklace; on the helmet, a star of eight rays.



Rev. **AIETINON**. An owl to right, on top of an Ionic column; in front of owl an olive-branch : plain border.

BARIUM

The founder of the ancient city called Barium was probably one of Peucetian or Pelasgic origin who had emigrated from Arcadia. The site chosen was on the coast of the Adriatic about thirty-five miles south of the river Aufidus, and about seventy-five north of Brundisium.

The ancient legend is found in the 41st of the Fables of Antoninus Liberalis.

But few remains of Barium remain to our day; only a few Roman inscriptions, some painted Greek vases and a few copper coins are left, but these are sufficient to show how freely the ancient citizens received the culture of the Greeks of Tarentum, which lies nearly sixty miles distant almost due south of Barium.

Ancient writers do not often refer to this city; Livy merely mentions that the left wing of the fleet kept the coast up to Barium in 181 B.C. (XL, 18.), and Horace relates his journey in his Satires (lib. I, v, 96): "Next day the weather was better, the road worse, even to the very walls of Barium that abounds in fish".

Tacitus mentions that Silanus was exiled "to a municipium of Apulia called Barium" (*Ann.* XVI, 9).

Strabo merely mentions Barium without giving any information about the place; he says: "Egnatia was the general place to stop at for those travelling to Barium as well by land as by sea. The run is made when the wind blows from the south. The territory of the Peucetii extends as far as this along the coast... The distance from Brentesium to Barium is about 700 stadia". Pliny (*H. N.*, III, xi) just mentions this city. The towns of the Paediculi are Rhudia, Egnatia, Barium. Its position as a sea port on the great Roman road afterwards called the Via Trajana gave it some importance, and it was only 40 miles from Canusium.

BRONZE COINS OF BARIUM

End of the third century.

1. Size .8. Obv. Head of Zeus to right laureated, behind, two stars, one above the other: border of dots.

Rev. **BAP INΩN** above and to right.

A Prow to right upon which Eros leans forward to right drawing his bow, beneath, a dolphin to right : plain border.

Style various, sometimes fair, at others rude.

II. Size .6. Same types, the only difference being that only one star appears on the Obverse, and no dolphin on the Reverse.

The stars are marks of value perhaps of one and two libellæ.

III. Size .5. Obv. same as II, but a dot for the star, and the Rev. shews only the prow to right, without the figure of Eros or the dolphin, and **BAP I N** in the field above.

There is only one type known of the coins of Barium, and with slight modifications it appears on the double libellæ, the libellæ, and the sembellæ.

BUTUNTUM

Butuntum is one of the Daunian towns of Pelasgic origin situated on the plains near the sea, in the southern part of Apulia. It lay on the road afterwards called Via Trajana, halfway between Rubi on the West and Barium on the East, about ten miles from each ; about thirty miles south of Canusium and fifty miles north of Tarentum.

The city is not mentioned by Livy or Strabo, nor indeed by any ancient author except Pliny, who if he means this city by his reference to the “ Butuntinentes ” as among the cities of Calabria, must have made a mistake (III, xi).

The site is correctly given however in the ancient Itineraries. We may perhaps be allowed to hope that as the city appears to have no history, its happiness and prosperity was such as its plentiful supply of bronze coins would lead us to imagine it enjoyed.

It is perhaps on account of the way in which the city was mentioned by Pliny that the coins of Butuntum are arranged among those of Calabria in the British Museum Catalogue, although the nearest point on the borders of Apulia and Calabria is more than thirty miles from the site of the city.

The coins of Butuntum which remain are all of bronze, and bear witness by their types to the influence of Tarentum, for instance the cockle shell, the figures of Taras riding the dolphin, and the head of Pallas wearing a Corinthian helmet.



The coins of Butuntum bearing the ear of barley with two leaves remind us of those of Metapontum, but they may after all merely bear witness to the cultivation of barley on the fertile plains around the city. The type of a crab mentioned by Dr Head (*Hist. Num.*,

p. 38) is difficult to explain, for Butuntum was five miles distant from the sea shore, and the city on whose coins the crab is a familiar emblem, is the far off Agrigentum in Sicily.

BRONZE COINS OF BUTUNTUM

Circa 300 B.C.

I. Size .7. Obv. a Cockle-shell : border of dots.



Rev. **BYTON** } . Taras, naked, riding a dolphin to left,
TINΩN } holding Cantharos, and club of Heracles.

II. Size .85. Obv. Head of Pallas to right wearing crested Corinthian helmet : border of dots.

Rev. **BYTON** an ear of barley to right with two leaves :
TINΩN plain border.

III. Size .6. Obv. An owl seated on a branch.

Rev. Fulmen.

IV. Size .7. Obv. a crab.

Rev. Inscription, but no type.

Numbers II and IV are not found in the British Museum, but are described in Dr Head's *Hist. Num.*, p. 38.

CAELIA

There are two ancient cities which bore the name of Caelia, the one situated about six miles to the south of Barium, and the other about twenty-five miles west of Brundisium. on the borders of Apulia and Calabria. Mommsen and Tomasi (*Bull. del Inst.*, 1834, p. 54) are of opinion that the coins bearing **ΚΑΙΛΙΝΩΝ** belong to the first-named city, near Barium, because they are frequently found there. This is also the opinion of Millingen (*Num. de l'Italie*, p. 148).

Strabo just mentions it among the cities on the road from Brundisium to Rome: "Hence there are two ways to Rome; one, which is only walked by mules through the Peucetii, who are called Pædicli, the Daunii, and the Samnites, as far as Beneventum on which road is the city Egnatia, then Caelia, Netium, Canusium and Herdonia."

This is confirmed by the *Tab. Pent.* which places Cælia nine miles from Butuntum on the road to Egnatia. There is still a village on this site called Ceglie, five miles south of Bari.

Many tombs, vases, coins and other remains have been found on this site (Romanelli, vol. II, p. 177; Mommsen, *Unter Ital. Dialekte*, p. 62).

SILVER COINS OF CAELIA.

Circa 300 B. C.

Only obols are found, in size .45, weighing 15.8 grs.

Obv. Head of Pallas wearing crested helmet on which is a sea-horse.

Rev. Heracles to right, kneeling and strangling the Nemean lion; behind, a club; beneath **ΔΑΙΙΟΥ**. In the Cat. of Brit. Mus., no. 1. this legend is described as "uncertain letters" but they appear clearly enough to make this reading reasonably sure.

BRONZE COINS OF CAELIA.

Circa 268 B. C.

I. a) Sextans. Size .8. Head of Pallas to right, wearing crested Corinthian helmet, on which is a figure of a serpent, and in her ear an earring; above the helmet **Ο Ο**: border of dots.

Rev. **ΚΑΙΑΙΝΩΝ**. Trophy of crested helmet to left, round shield, lance, sword, and cuirass; on either side, a star of six rays; in field to left a thunderbolt: plain border.

b) Size .7. Obv. Same type; but on helmet a griffin.

Rev. **ΚΑΙΑΙΝΩΝ**. Similar trophy, Gorgon's head on shield, a palm crossing lance; in field to left a club, upwards.

c) Size .85. Obv. Same type, nothing visible on helmet; no earring?

Rev. **ΚΑΙΑΙΝ**. Trophy helmet to right, no device visible on shield, no palm; on either side a star.

II. Uncia. Size .7. Obv. Head of Pallas; above head, **Ο**.

Rev. [**ΚΑΙΑΙΝ**] **ΩΝ**. Same type as Sextans, but in field to left a star of six rays.

III. Sextans. Size .7. Obv. Head of Pallas, above ••; behind, **Κ**: border of dots.

Rev. **ΚΑΙΑΙ**. Nike, advancing to left, holding wreath, and carrying trophy on her left shoulder: border of dots.

IV. Sextans. Size .75. Obv. Head of Zeus to right, laureated; behind, •: border of dots.

Rev. **ΚΑΙΑΙ**
ΝΝΩ. Pallas, running to left, wearing crested helmet, holding spear and small buckler: plain border.

V. Uncia. Size .7. Obv. Head of Zeus, behind the head, **Κ**.

Reverse. Same legend. A thunderbolt: plain border.

Uncertain denominations.

VI. Size .6. Head of Pallas, in front **Κ**.

Rev. **ΙΑΙΑΧ**. An eagle to left, on thunderbolt; behind, two stars of eight rays: border of dots.

VII. Size .55. Obv. Head of Pallas with necklace, no mark of value.

Rev. **ΚΑΙΑΙΝΩΝ**. Three crescents with the horns outwards; within each crescent a • and part of the legend: plain border.

VIII. Size .55. Obv. Same as VII.

Rev. **ΚΑΙ**. A male figure advancing to left, wearing petasos (?), and holding palm with right hand: border of dots.

IX. Size .5. Obv. Same as VII.

Rev. An inscription in exergue not legible; Dioscuri wearing conical caps, on horseback, riding to right.

X. Size .6. Obv. Head of Zeus, similar to that on Sextans.

Rev. **KAIAI**
NΩN. Thunderbolt : plain border.

XI. Size .5. Obv. Same as X.

Rev. **KA**. A club upwards, within wreath of laurel (?) leaves.

CANUSIUM

The name of a city or the name of a man recalls to mind many different appearances or conditions; thus, London under the Romans, the Normans, the Tudors or the Hanoverians presents to our mind very varied images. So the image of Nero in his youth is very different from that of his later years.

When we try to picture to ourselves the Canusium in which our coins were current we must remember that the rude primitive city of the Pelasgic Daunians, whose hero, Diomed, figures on some of the types, had been transformed by the influence of the Tarentines into a Greek city, whose buildings no doubt were as much copied from those of Tarentum as were its coins. Many of these same coins of Canusium were probably current in the days when the Roman fugitives from Cannae entered its walls.

As the London streets have echoed with the Latin of the Romans, Norman-French of the Normans, and the English of the Plantagenets and Elizabethans, so those of Canusium must have resounded with the language of the early Pelasgians, the Greek of their Tarentine friends, and the Latin of their Roman conquerors.

The Canusian Greek coins bear witness to the culture of the vine by the amphorae and wine-cups appearing on the obols, which they copied from those of Tarentum.

The lyre on some of these coins may show that the cult of Apollo was as common among the citizens as that of Dionysus.

The figure of a horse-soldier reminds us not only of the Tarentine cavalry so often illustrated on the coins of that city, but also of the herds of horses reared on the Apulian plains.

This most ancient Daunian Canusium was situated near the south bank of the river Aufidus, about twelve miles west of Rudi, and the same distance from the mouth of the river. Ausculum lay about twenty-seven miles to the west. The road from Brundisium to Beneventum ran through Canusium.

Strabo (VI, p. 283 Casaub.) speaking of Arpi and Canusium says: "They are said to have been both founded by Diomed, and both the plain of Diomed and many other things are shown in these districts as evidence of his having possessed them."

Many towns are chiefly remembered in connection with some

great battle, as for instance, Hastings and Waterloo; similarly, Canusium is most generally known as the refuge of the defeated Roman army on the night following the great battle of Cannæ. The site of the battle is about six miles distant from the city, along the course of the Aufidus towards the sea. Livy (XXII) tells us how Publius Sempronius Tuditanus bravely led the refugees into the city. From the story of the battle we gather that the River Aufidus was shallow enough to enable the armies to cross it without difficulty. It can hardly therefore have formed a natural boundary between the original Daunians and Peucetians.

The first historical notice of the city appears to be that of Livy (IX, 20) who tells us that the Canusians took the part of the Samnites in their wars against the Romans, until L. Plautius, in the year 318 B.C. forced them to submit in order to save their territories from repeated devastations. From that date and throughout the Second Punic War they appear to have been steadfast in their loyalty to Rome.

Canusium maintained its importance until a late period in the Middle Ages, although it suffered severely from the ravages of the Lombards and Saracens.

The modern city, now called Canossa, is situated on a slight hill which probably formed the citadel of the ancient Canusium. Most of the ruins now to be seen are of later Roman date; they are described by Swinburne in his "Travels" (vol. I, p. 401).

The most interesting relics of the ancient city besides its coins are the objects which have been found in its tombs, especially the painted vases, which are scarcely inferior to those of Nola. But though inferior in style of art they are clearly of Greek origin. Greek seems to have been the language there when the Romans conquered the city, and for long afterwards, for Horace calls the people "Canusinus bilinguis" (Sat. I, 10.30), probably referring to their speaking both Greek and Latin in his time.

The territory of Canusium was adapted to the growth of vines as well as of corn, but was specially celebrated for its wool, which appears to have been manufactured on the spot into a particular kind of cloth much prized for its durability.

SILVER COINS OF CANUSIUM.

Circa 300 B.C.

I. The only silver coins remaining are Obols. Weight : 7.3 grs. Obv. **KA**. An amphora between smaller figures of a cornucopie and an oinochoë.

Rev. A tri-chord lyre, the letter **P** on the left and **I ?** on the right.

II. Obv. Amphora between smaller figures of a flower of eight petals on the left, and an oinochoë on the right.

Rev. Same type as the last, only the letters **KA** instead of **PI**.

III. Obv. Same type, but cornucopie to left instead of the flower.

Rev. Same as last.

The execution is ruder than one would expect from the style of the bronze coins.

BRONZE COINS OF CANUSIUM.

Circa 300 B.C.

I. Size .86. Obv. A male head to left, perhaps that of Diomedes.

Rev. A horseman galloping to right wearing crested helmet and with spear couched. Beneath the horse **KANYΣINΩ(N)**.

II. Size .6. Obv. Head of Heracles to right wearing the lion-skin headdress.

Rev. A club and four dots **KA NY**.

URIUM or HYRIA of APULIA

Three cities of Southern Italy bore the name Hyria : one in Campania, which was also known as Nola, another which Herodotus calls the most ancient of the Messapian cities in Calabria, which issued coins bearing the legend **ORRA**, and the third, the subject of this chapter, a sea-port town on the coast of Apulia about ten miles north of the promontory of Garganus. The city gave its name to the bay formed by the headland Urias Sinus mentioned by Pomponius Mela (II, 4, § 7).

The city is merely mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy among the cities of the Daunian Apulians, but no notices of its history can be found in any ancient writers. Strabo just mentions the city : " The promontory of Garganum, running into the sea, juts out from this bay about three hundred stadia. As you turn the point you perceive the town of Urium, while off the headland are seen the Diomedean islands. All this coast produces everything in great abundance ; it is exceedingly well adapted for horses and sheep, and the wool is finer than that of Tarentum, but less glossy. The district is mild on account of the cup-like situation of the plains. " (Casaub. 284, lib. VI, c. III, § 9).

The site is at present occupied by a small town called Rodi, near the entrance to a salt-water lake or lagoon called Lago di Varano, a name which is very probably a corruption of Lacus Urianus (Romanelli, vol. II, p. 283).

BRONZE COINS.

The only coins which have been preserved from the Apulian city Hyria are very small bronze, and are common ; they present only two different types.

I. Size .35. Obv. Head of Pallas to right wearing crested Corinthian helmet : border of dots.

Rev. **YPIA**
TINΩ. A rudder lengthwise to left ; beneath, a dolphin to right : plain border.

II. Size .3. Obv. Head of Zeus to right, laureated. **YPIA** and at thunderbolt

The Obverse type of no 1 shows the influence of Tarentum to have been great at Hyria, for the type is copied from coins of that city. The Reverse type, the rudder, is probably emblematic of the sea port; the dolphin may also have been an emblem of the sea (as on the coins of Syracuse) or perhaps of Poseidon.

The rudder was used on gems in a similar manner as an emblem of the sea. In the Stosch collection of gems was one on which Venus is represented leaning on a rudder (πηγῶλιν), and there it evidently can only be a reference to her origin from the sea. On another gem is a rudder and a cornucopiae representing the proceeds of sea and land. On one of Bartoli's lamps is a figure of a Triton carrying a rudder on his shoulder and blowing a conch.

LUCERIA

The modern city of Luceria, with about 12000 inhabitants, occupies the site of the ancient Apulian Luceria; it is on a hill of considerable elevation, one of the most easterly spurs of the Apennines, overlooking the fertile plains of Apulia. Of the more ancient native city we know nothing except what may be gathered from the legends related by Strabo (264 or Bk. VI, 1, 14) concerning an image of Minerva, said to have been rescued from the city of Troy, being preserved there; also he says many other things are shewn in these districts as evidence of Diomed's having possessed them. Such were the ancient offerings in the temple at Luceria. Strabo says this ancient city of the Daunii was of no account in his day, that is, in the time of Augustus (283 Bk. VI, III, 39). Nothing is really known of Luceria until the period of the Second Samnite War, when the citizens joined the other Apulians in their alliance with Rome, in 326 B.C., and remained faithful to Rome although the other cities broke the treaty, and in consequence the Samnites besieged Luceria.

The Roman legions were on their way to relieve the citizens when they sustained the great disaster at the Caudine Forks in 321 B.C. There were two roads by which the Romans might approach Luceria, one along the coast, the safer but the longer road, the other led through the dangerous but shorter valley called the Caudine Forks in which the Roman army was taken, and Luceria in consequence fell into the hands of the Samnites.

From Livy (IX, 12) we learn that the Roman knights given as hostages at Caudium were kept in custody at Luceria until 319 B.C., when Publius in a second battle near the same fatal pass defeated the Samnites and caused them to flee into Luceria.

The Samnites prepared to meet Papirius at Luceria when the Tarentines threatened, if either party refused to agree to stop the war, to join their arms with the other party against them.

The Samnites in Luceria tried to favour the Tarentines and refused to come out to fight. Their camp was taken by the Romans in 319 B.C. but the men were not destroyed for fear lest the hostages in Luceria should be slain.

The Samnites in the city were reduced so low by famine that they sent ambassadors to Papirius proposing that he should raise the siege on receiving the hostages. The Roman consul told them to leave within the walls their arms and baggage and pass under the yoke as they had made the Romans pass at Caudium. All the standards and arms which the Romans had lost at Caudium were recovered, as well as the hostages.

As Canusium is connected in our minds with the defeat at Cannae, so is Luceria with that at the Caudine Forks.

A truce was made with the Samnites from 318-317 B.C. but in the next year the Samnites reopened the war. In 314 or 313 B.C. Luceria again fell into the hands of the Samnites, the Roman garrison being betrayed to the enemy. But the Roman army was not far off, and the city was retaken at the first onset. The Lucerians and Samnites to a man were put to the sword.

The Senate were consulted as to sending a colony to Luceria, but such was the resentment felt in Rome at their treachery, that many voted for its demolition. However, two thousand five hundred colonists were sent to the place.

"Fearing to lose all Apulia, the Romans sent a colony to Luceria, one of the most celebrated cities of the land, in order that it might serve them as a base from which to continue their war against the Samnites" (Diodorus Sic. Bk. XIX, Ch. 72).

Twenty years after, in the year 294 B.C., the Samnites again laid siege to Luceria, when the Roman Consul Atilius advanced to its relief and defeated his enemies in a great battle.

During the Second Punic War, 218-201 B.C. Luceria was one of the most important military positions of the Romans, and was especially used as their winter-quarters. Although the citizens suffered much Luceria was nevertheless one of the eighteen Latin colonies which in 209 B.C. expressed their readiness to continue their contributions both of men and money, and which in consequence received the thanks of the Senate for their fidelity (Livy, XXVII, 10).

In Cicero's time Luceria was still one of the most considerable towns in Apulia. As Pliny calls it a "colonia", it probably received a fresh colony under Augustus.

The coinage of Luceria may be divided into three series, the first consisting of cast aes grave of the libral system, issued between 314-250 B.C. Although these are practically Roman coins, some of the types, as the heads of Heracles and Apollo, the head of a horse, a horse prancing, with a star above, a cock, a dolphin, the ear of corn, or the cockle-shell, all show the influence of the Apulians and Tarentines.

The second series consists of cast aes grave of the triental system

issued after 250 B.C. The types of these are similar to those of the first series, but with the addition of the letter **Λ** on the Reverse.

The third series consists of struck coins of the sextantal system, and were issued before 217 B.C. The types bear the heads of Pallas, Heracles, Poseidon, Demeter, Apollo, the Dioscuri, and Artemis.

In addition to these autonomous coins of Luceria there is another series of Roman coins, both of silver and copper, with the inscription **ROMA**, and **Λ** the mint-mark of Luceria, which we may call Romano-Lucurian.

CAST BRONZE COINS OF THE LIBRAL SYSTEM.

I. As. Size 2.65. Weight, between 5266 grs. and 3130 grs.

Obv. Head of young Heracles to right, wearing lion's skin.

Rev. Horse's head to left, bridled.

II. Quincunx. Size 1.75.

Obv. Archaic wheel of four spokes without tire.

oo

Rev. Same type, but in addition o between the two lower

oo

spokes.

III. Quadrans. Size 1.85.

Obv. Star of six rays on raised field.

Rev. Dolphin to left, beneath ooo : on a raised field.

IV. Sextans. Size 1.45.

Obv. Cockle-shell on raised field.

Rev. Astragalos, beneath oo : on raised field.

V. Uncia. Size 1.25.

Obv. Toad.

Rev. Ear of barley, above, o.

VI. Semuncia. Size .95.

Obv. Crescent on raised field.

Rev. Thyrsos with fillet, on raised field.

TRIENTAL SYSTEM.

I. As. Size 1.9.

Obv. Head of young Heracles to right, wearing lion's skin ; over neck, his club to left.

Rev. A horse prancing to right, above, a star of eight rays ; beneath **Λ**.

II. Quincunx. Size 1.3.

Obv. Archaic wheel of four spokes, without tire, on raised field.

Rev. Same type as obv.; between upper spokes $\begin{smallmatrix} \circ\circ \\ \circ\circ \end{smallmatrix}$, and between lower spokes \downarrow : on raised field.

III. Triens. Size 1.25.

Obv. Thunderbolt: on raised field.

Rev. Club to right; above $\circ\circ\circ\circ$; beneath \downarrow : on raised field.

IV. Sextans. Size 1.1.

Obv. Cockle-shell: on raised field.

Rev. Astragalos; above, $\circ\circ$; beneath \downarrow : on raised field.

V. Uncia. Size .85.

Obv. Toad: on raised field.

Rev. Ear of barley; above \circ ; beneath \downarrow : on raised field.

VI. Semiuncia. Size .75.

Obv. Crescent: on raised field.

Rev. Half-Thyrsos with fillet; beneath \downarrow : on raised field.

STRUCK COINS.

I. Quincunx. Size 1.05.

Obv. Head of Pallas to right wearing crested Corinthian helmet;



Quincunx.

above $\circ\circ\circ\circ\circ$; border of dots.

Rev. **LOVCERI**. Wheel of eight spokes, inner line of tyre dotted.

II. Triens. Size 1.



Triens.

Obv. Head of young Heracles to right wearing lion's skin; behind, $\begin{smallmatrix} \circ \\ \circ\circ \\ \circ \end{smallmatrix}$: border of dots.

Rev. **LOYCERI**. Quiver to right; Club to right; and strung Bow : plain border.

III. Quadrans. Size .9.

Obv. Head of Poseidon to right; behind ♂ : border of dots.

Rev. **LOYCERI**. Dolphin to right; above, a trident, to right : plain border.

IV. Sextans. Size .7.

Obv. Head of Dione to right, laureate and veiled ; behind head ♂ : border of dots.

Rev. **LOYCERI**. Cockle-shell, hinge downwards : plain border.

V. Uncia. Size .55.

Obv. Head of Apollo to right, over shoulder bow and quiver, beneath o ; border of dots.

Rev. **LOYCERI**. Toad : plain border.

MATEOLA

The village now called Matera is supposed to be the site of the ancient city Mateola, which was important enough to coin bronze money between 250-217 B.C. Matera is twelve miles from Genu-sium, and about eight miles east of the river Bradanus. It was near or on the Via Appia, about forty miles south-east of Venusia, and about the same distance from Tarentum.

Pliny seems to be the only ancient author who mentions this city, but from the expression used by him "ex Gargano Mateolani" we should hardly have expected to find the site in the south-west corner of Apulia about eighty miles from the promontory of Garganus.

The coins consist of Sextantes and Unciae only, issued probably between 250 and 217 B.C.



Sextans.

I. Sextans. Size. 65. Obv. Head of Pallas to right wearing crested Corinthian helmet and earring; above, $\circ\circ$: border of dots.

Rev. A lion seated, with head facing, near forepaw raised; holding spear which he grasps in his mouth. In the field **MAT** in monogram; **TM** : plain border.

II. Uncia. Size .55. Obv. Similar head to no. 1; above \circ : border of dots.

Rev. Nude figure of Heracles standing to right, leaning on his long club, the handle of which rests under the left shoulder; in the field to left the same monogram, **TM** : plain border. This is the attitude of the Farnese Heracles. The types are evidently influenced by those of Tarentum.

NEAPOLIS OF APULIA

This city, not mentioned by any ancient writer, is situated on the coast of the Adriatic about twenty miles south of Barium, and about fourteen north of Egnatia on the road afterwards called Via Trajana. It was about thirty-eight miles almost due north of Tarentum.

The place is now called Polignano, near which numerous relics of antiquity have been discovered (Romanelli, vol. II, p. 148-152; Millingen, *Numism. de l'Italie*, p. 147).

The attribution of the coins bearing **NEAΠ** rests upon the evidence of numerous finds. From their style they appear to have been issued at about 300 B.C.

BRONZE COINS OF THE APULIAN NEAPOLIS

Circa 300 B.C.

- I. Size .7. Obv. Head of Dionysos.
Rev. **NEAΠ**. Vine branch and grapes.



A specimen in the Brit. Mus. is countermarked with a caduceus on the Reverse.

- II. Size .6. Obv. Head of veiled goddess, probably Demeter : border of dots.

Rev. **NE** on left of an ear of barley with two leaves, **ΑΠΟ** on right : plain border.

- III. Size .5. Obv. Female head to right, wearing stephanos.

Rev. **NEA**
ΠΟΤ. An ornamented trident.

The influence of the Greek colonists on this mint is very plainly to be seen.

RUBI

Rubi is interesting to numismatists as being one of the few cities of Apulia which issued silver coins.

They consist of Diobols and Obols, or Nummi, and half Nummi. Five different types of bronze coins are also known. The city Rubi now called Ruvo is distant from Canusium about twenty-eight miles towards the south east, and is about ten miles west of Butuntum. Its site is on the hills overlooking the rich plain along the sea-coast, from which it was about ten miles distant.

Rubi is mentioned by Horace as one of the places at which Maecenas and his friends stopped on their journey from Rome to Brundisium (Horace, Sat. I, 5, 94); on leaving Canusium he says "Inde Rubos fessi pervenimus", but makes no remarks upon this halting place.

Numerous works of Greek art in bronze and terra-cotta have been found in the excavations made there, as well as great numbers of painted vases of great variety and beauty, but they are, like those of all the other cities of Apulia, inferior to those of Nola and the Campanian cities.

These treasures are described by Romanelli (vol. II, p. 172) and in the *Bollett. dell' Institut. Arch.*, 1829 and 1834).

Neither Strabo nor Ptolemy mentioned Rubi, but Pliny speaks of the citizens as "Rubastini" and this ethnic form is confirmed by the legend found on some of the coins **PYBAΣTEINΩN**.

The coins give evidence of the great influence of the Greek colonists of Tarentum, and are in harmony with what we should expect from the treasures of Greek art found on the site.

SILVER COINS OF RUBI.

I. Diobol. Weight : 14 grs. Size .55.

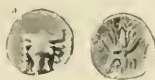
Obv. Head of Pallas to right wearing Corinthian helmet on which is a star.

Rev. **PY**. An ear of barley with two leaves; in field to right, a cornucopiæ.

II. Obol. Weight : 6.3 grs. Size .35.

Obv. A bull's head, facing, with pendent fillets.

Rev. **PY** on either side of a winged thunderbolt.



Æ. Obol.

III. Obol. Weight : 5.8 grs. Size .35.

Obv. Bust of Helios, full face, radiate, and wearing chlamys.

Rev. **PY** on either side of two crescents, back to back, with horns outwards; above the crescents the letters **ΔΑ**; between the crescents two dots one above and one below the point of junction.

BRONZE COINS OF RUBI.

From about 300 B.C.

I. Size .45. Obv. Head of Pallas to right, wearing crested Corinthian helmet.

Rev. **PYBA**. Figure of Nike to left, holding wreath and palm.

Placed first because they are probably the earliest of the bronze.

II. Size .75. Obv. Head of Zeus to right, laureated : border of dots.

Rev. **PYΨ**. Eagle to left, with wing open, standing on thunderbolt : plain border.

On some specimens **K** is found behind the head on the Obverse.

III. Size .7. Obv. Head of Heracles to right, laureated : border of dots.

Rev. Same legend, **PYΨ**. A smooth club with strap to right, quiver to left, and strung bow; all in laurel-wreath pointing left.

IV. Size .6. Obv. Head of Pallas to right wearing crested Corinthian helmet; above, the letter **K** : border of dots.

Rev. **PYBAΣTEINΩ N**. An owl to right seated on olive-branch; in field **ΛΙ** : plain border. These may be as early as 300 B.C.

V. Size .6. Obv. Head of Zeus to right, laureated; **ΓΡ·CE·E** : border of dots.

Rev. Female figure to left, holding patera and cornucopiae : plain border.

These coins are rude and flat in style and thin in fabric.

RUBI and SILVIUM

There is a silver coin bearing on the Reverse **ΣΙ PY**, which has been interpreted as a coin showing the intimate relationship existing between the towns of Rubi and Silvium. This latter city is situated about twenty-two miles south-west of Rubi, and about twenty south of Venusia on the Appian Way. It was near the border between Apulia and Lucania, and was noticed by Strabo as the frontier town of the Peucetii (Bk. VI, p. 28). It is just mentioned by Pliny (III, 11). Diodorus Siculus says that the Roman Consuls made their camp here, besieged the city and took it by assault, with much booty, making five thousand men prisoners in the year that the Samnites took Sora and Atia (Diodorus, *Sic.*, XX, ch. 80; Pratelli, *Via Appia*, IV, 6, p. 478; Romanelli, vol. II, p. 188).

Circa 300-250 B.C.



Weight : 16 grs. 14.5 grs.

Size .5. Obv. Head of Pallas to right, wearing Corinthian helmet.

Rev. **ΣΙ PY**. Ear of barley with leaf on right, in field to right, cornucopiæ.

This is practically the type of the silver coins of Rubi.

SALAPIA.

About five miles north of the river Aufidus the lagoon called the Palus Salapia extends for twelve miles along the coast of the Adriatic, separated from the open sea by a narrow tongue of land. The old city of Salapia, built upon the shores of the lagoon about twelve miles north of Canusium, was one of the most important of the cities of Apulia. It is probable that in the days of its prosperity there was an outlet from the lagoon to the sea large enough for the passage of ships, as Salapia was spoken of as a considerable seaport.

Strabo tells us it was the port of the Argyrippi and of the Canusians (lib. VI, p. 284).

According to Vitruvius, tradition ascribed its foundation as well as that of Canusium and Arpi to Diomedes (lib. I, 4, 12).

Lycophron seems to assign its origin to the Trojans, though the passage is somewhat obscure (Lycophron Alex. 1129).

There is no trace of a Greek Colony having settled here, but as in the other Apulian cities, the Greek influence of the Tarentines was considerably felt. Extensive ruins of the city are still visible on the western shore of the lagoon in a tract of country now almost wholly desolate, and the coins of Salapia are frequently found on the spot.

It is probable that the salt-works still existing near the artificial mouth of the lagoon are on the same site as the ancient ones and that the name Salapia itself is derived from *sal*, the lagoon having been always well adapted for the collection of salt.

Our earliest historical notices of the city relate to the period of the Second Punic War, in which it bore a considerable part. Livy (Bk. XXIV, ch. xx) says that on reaching Salapia on his way from Tarentum, Hannibal, as mid-summer was passed, and he liked the place for winter-quarters, collected stores of corn from the country round Metapontum and Heraclaea, and his raiders collected herds or horses from the Apulians, and distributed them among his cavalry. This was in 214-213 B.C. In the next year Hannibal took Tarentum.

In 210 B.C. Salapia was given into the hands of the Romans by treachery. The story is fully told by Livy (XXVI, 38) who relates how the two principal men of the city, Dasius and Blasius or Blattius, after much argument, agreed to give up the city to the Romans. The cavalry of Hannibal in the city however fought bravely, not more than fifty of them falling alive into the hands of the Romans. The loss of his cavalry was more serious to Hannibal than that of the city.

After the death of Marcellus, who had surprised the city, Hannibal tried to take it again by strategy, but the fraud was discovered, and the Carthaginians repulsed with great loss.

Livy tells the story with his usual vividness (XXVII, 1, 78). Salapia does not appear to be mentioned again in history until the time of the Social war, and probably remained in the hands of the Romans until that time.

The ancient city was deserted on account of malaria, we do not know when, and a new town built near the sea-shore. The fate of this city illustrates the effect of malaria on the decline of the Greek cities, a subject which has received considerable attention during this last year (1910).

It would seem from the occurrence of the two names Dasius and Pyllus on the coins of both Arpi and Salapia, that the two cities were perhaps united, not only commercially but politically, during the years that these officers were in power.

The coins of Salapia are all of bronze, and one of the types is common to both cities, that struck in Arpi, bearing the name **ΔΑΣΙΟΥ**, that struck in Salapia being without the name of a magistrate.

BRONZE COINS OF SALAPIA 250-200 B.C.

1. Size .85. Obv. **ΣΑΛΑΓΙΝΩΝ**. Head of Zeus, to left, laureated; behind, a thunderbolt: border of dots.

Rev. The Calydon boar, running to right, above, an ornamented trident to right. In exergue **ΠΥΛΛΟΥ**.

On some specimens the name is **ΠΛΩΤΙΟΥ** and the head of Zeus is to right.

2. Size .85. Obv. **ΣΑΛΑΓΙΝΩΝ**. Head of Apollo, to right, laureated; behind, a quiver.

Rev. Horse prancing to right; above, an ornamented trident to right, beneath **ΠΥΛΛΟΥ**.

3. **ΣΑΛΓΙΝΩΝ**. Size .7. Obv. A horse to right, off foreleg raised; above horse, **ΒΩ**.

(The **ΝΩΝ** is below the horse's body.)

On some specimens **ΔΑΣΙΟΥ**, beneath, **Α**.

Rev. A dolphin to left; above **ΔΑΜΑΙΡΕ**, beneath **ΔΑΣΙΕΝΙ**.

On some the legend is **ΙΩΝΙΓΓΑΛΑΣ** retrograde.



4. Size .6. Obv. **ΣΑΛΑΓΙΝΩ** a dolphin.

Rev. A dolphin.

5. Size .85. Obv. **ΣΑΛΑΓΙΝΩΝ**. Head of Apollo, to right, laureate.

a) Rev. Horse prancing to right, above a wreath, beneath horse, **Ε**.

On some specimens no legend on obv. but **ΣΑΛΑ** on Rev.

b) Instead of wreath, a star of five or seven rays.

c) On some, a palm bound with a fillet, and the name **ΤΡΩΣΑΝΤΙΟΣ**.

6. Size .65. Obv. **ΣΑΛΑΓΙΝΩΝ**. Head of young Pan, to right, behind neck, pedum: border of dots.

Rev. Eagle? to right on capital? behind, palm, inverted.

SAMADI

No mention of this city has been found in any ancient writer, and the name is now unknown in Apulia, to which region the small brass coins bearing this name evidently belong. Two specimens are to be seen in the British Museum, and others are preserved in the Museum at Berlin.

Until the year 1868 these coins were attributed to a city of Pisidia called Sandalium, but from the fabric and the types it is now generally recognized that they cannot have been issued in Pisidia.

In 1868 Friedländer wrote an article in which he showed that the types were certainly Apulian, and he noticed that on one specimen, procured from Naples, the letter Δ in the legend was in shape D, shewing the influence of Italy most clearly.

The legends on the two coins in the British Museum unmistakably bear the Greek form of the letter Δ.

In the Engadine some of the villages bear names which are derived from those of cities in Southern Italy, such as Lavin, Ardetz, Velthurus, Brixens, Anagni, Fondo, Salurn, Sarntein, and Samaden. It seems therefore very probable that we have, in this Engadine Samaden, a witness to the existence of an Apulian city which is otherwise unknown to us, except by the evidence of the few small bronze coins which may be seen in our Museums.

The two coins in the British Museum each bear the same types, and differ only in size; one is .6 and the other .5 of an inch.

Obv. A head of Pallas wearing a Corinthian helmet, to right.

Rev. Four crescents placed back to back with the letters ΣΑΜΑΔΙ between the horns of the crescents.

The attribution of the coins to Apulia was first made in the "Berliner Blätter für Münz- Siegel- und Wappenkunde". IV Band, p. 138, 1868.

These coins are very similar to those issued at Caelia bearing three crescents, which were described by S. Birch in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. IV, p. 127.

Crescents are also found on coins of Rubi, on which we find two.

On the coins of Venusia also a crescent is seen on the Sesuncia, and three crescents on larger coins of uncertain denomination.

All attempts to find even a remote and little known village in Apulia bearing a name which could possibly be derived from Samadi have hitherto been in vain.

TEATE

The mother-city of the tribe called the Marrucini was situated on a hill about three miles from the river Aternus, which flows into the Adriatic sea about eight miles from the city. Teate is the most northern of all the Apulian cities whose coins we possess : it was sixty-five miles north of Teanum and about ninety from Rome.

The Marrucini, Sabines by race, were connected with the Marsi and were also generally in alliance with the Vestini and Pelligni.

In the year 311 B.C. when M. Valerius and P. Decius were consuls, Diodorus of Sicily tells us that the Romans directed great bodies of infantry and cavalry upon Pollitium a town of the Marrucini (liber XIX, c. cv).

Perhaps Pallanum or Peltuinum may be meant by "Pollitium", both these cities were near Teate.

In 307 B.C. we learn from Livy that "Fabius having marched to Nuceria rejected the application of the people of Alfaterna who then sued for peace. A battle was fought with the Samnites ; the enemy were overcome without much difficulty : nor would the memory of that engagement have been preserved, except that in it the Marsians first appeared in arms against the Romans. The Pelignans, imitating the defection of the Marsians, met the same fate" (IX, 41). Livy also tells us how in the year 303 B.C. after the defeat of the Æqui the Marrucini, Marsi, Peligrani, and Trentani warned by the example of the defeat of the Æqui sent orators to Rome seeking peace and friendship (IX, 45). From that time the Marrucini continued faithful to Rome although Livy recounts how in 217 B.C. Hannibal devastated their lands and the contiguous region of Apulia round Arpi and Luceria (XXII, 9). Again in 211 B.C. Hannibal passed through their land (XXVI, 11).

Teate was called "great", and "illustrious" by Silius Italicus who represents Sidicinus collecting the men of Cales with the youthful army of the Vestini, and the Marrucini, the Trentani, and the men of Corfinum, and of the great Teate (liber VIII, 520 seq.).

In another passage Silius describes a combat between a leader named Herius, and Hannibal.

.....cui nobile nomen
Marrucina domus, clarumque Teate ferebat. (*Pun.*, XVII, 452-3.)

Herius was a name afterwards known to Livy and Velleius Paterculus as belonging to the Asinia gens, but the Herius they mention cannot be the same as the leader spoken of by Silius, and perhaps the poet invented the story and applied an old name known to belong to Teate.

The importance of Teate is proved by the ruins and inscriptions remaining to this day.

It was a municipium under the Romans, but in the earlier times, when under native rule, it was the only great city of the Marrucini.

The modern name of Teate is Chieti, and it still flourishes with over 14,000 inhabitants. Among the remains of the ancient city are those of a theatre, a reservoir for water, and two temples, now turned into churches, one of which was erected by Vettius Marcellus.

The Vettia gens are said to have been natives of this city, but the Vettius, who was inter-rex in the kingly period, can hardly have been of Teate, and the family name Sabinus does not seem to be connected with this branch of the Sabine race.

Asinius Pollio was descended from an old family of Teate and was perhaps the most illustrious of all the Asinii, as the friend of J. Caesar, of Horace and Virgil, who dedicated to him the fourth Eclogue. Romanelli and Craven have described the city.

SILVER COINS OF TEATE.

Circa 300-268 B.C.

I. Didrachm. Obv. Female head diademed.

Rev. **TIATE**. Naked horsman crowning his horse.



II. Drachm. Obv. Same type.

Rev. Owl on an olive-branch.

III. Diobol or nummus. Obv. Head of Pallas.

Rev. Heracles and lion.

These coin-types shew how far to the north the influence of Tarentum travelled.

The owl on the drachm, and on the copper coins, was also derived from Tarentum.

A specimen of the Didrachm is preserved in the Museum at Berlin.

No silver coins of Teate are to be found in the British Museum, a fact which shows how rare these coins are.

BRONZE COINS OF TEATE.

After 217 B.C.



This extremely interesting Bronze coin passed from the Strozzi sale to the British Museum, and therefore does not appear in the old Catalogue. It is a specimen of the coinage of the town before the Roman occupation.

The alphabet used on the legend, that of the old Latin form, is retrograde and to be read from the centre of the coin.

IVITATI (Tiatiium).

Its style is that of about the year 300 B.C. and the type is very similar to that of a coin issued in Cales in 280 B.C. with the legend **CAIENO**. The distance between the two cities is about 70 miles, Cales being south-west of Teate. The similarity of type probably signifies some connection between the two cities.

The bull type is more likely to have been copied by the citizens of Teate than by those of Cales.

Obv. Head of Apollo to left, in front **IVITATI**.

Rev. Man-headed bull to left, above, a lyre; below, a letter?

I. Nummus. Size 1.25.

Obv. Head of Zeus Dodonaios to right: border of dots.

Rev. **TIATI**. An eagle to right, with open wings, standing on a thunderbolt; in front, the letter **N**, above which, a star of eight rays.

Some specimens without the star.

II. Quincunx. Size 1.

Obv. Head of Pallas to right, wearing crested Corinthian helmet: border of dots.

Some specimens bear a griffin on helmet.

Rev. **TIATI**. An owl to right, on a bar; in exergue, **OOOOO**.

III. Obv. Same type, but earrings in ear of Pallas, and above **OOOOO**: border of dots.

Rev. **TIATI**. Owl to right on Ionic capital : in front, above which a star of eight rays.



Some specimens have a serpent on helmet on Obv., and omit the star on R.

Others with plain helmet on Obv., bear on Rev., a crescent with horns upwards.

IV. Obv. Head of Pallas wearing crested Corinthian helmet ; no marks of value.

Rev. **TIATI**. An owl on a palm-branch ; beneath, the marks of value : plain border.

V. Obv. Same type as IV.

Rev. **TIATI**. An owl on a bar ; in front **K** ; in exergue, ooooo : plain border.

VI. Quadrans. Size .9.

Obv. Same type.

Rev. Same type as last, no letter ; in exergue, ooo.

VII. Obv. Same type.

Rev. Same, but the owl is on a palm-branch.

VIII. Sextans. Size .85.

Obv. Same type, but with necklace, and an uncertain device on helmet.

Rev. Same, but the owl to right on a bar ; in exergue, o.

Some specimens bear a wreath in front of Rev.

IX. Uncia. Size .9.

Obv. Head of Pallas to right, wearing crested helmet : border of dots.

Rev. **TIATI**. An owl, to right, on bar.

On some specimens no bar.

X. Quadrans. Size .9.

Obv. Head of Poseidon ?, to right, diademed ?

In front o : border of dots.

Rev. **TIATI**. Taras ? on dolphin, to left, holding amphora and trident.

Dr Head in the *Hist. Num.*, p. 41, mentions a Triens.

Rev. A lion oooo.

VENUSIA

Venusia was a city of Apulia, situated about ten miles south of the river Aufidus, and about twenty-four miles south-west of Canusium. The border line of Lucanian territory was about five miles south of the city. Tarentum was about twenty-five miles distant to the south-east, and Ausculum about twenty miles distant to the north-west.

So near was Venusia to Lucania that Horace says "I am in doubt whether I am a Lucanian or an Apulian, for the Venusian farmers plough upon the boundaries of both countries, who (as the ancient tradition has it) were sent on the expulsion of the Samnites, for this purpose, that the enemy might not make incursions on the Romans through a vacant frontier : or lest the Apulian nation, or the fierce Lucanians should make an invasion (Satire, lib. II, 134 seq.).

Later writers, such as Pliny and Ptolemy, speak of Venusia as an Apulian city.

Horace in the above-quoted passage refers to the colonization of the city after it was taken by the Romans in the year 262 B.C., under L. Postumius, at which time, Dionysius tells us, it was a populous and important town.

Velleius Paterculus mentions the event without giving details (I, 14). The authority for this event is Dionysius (*Exc. Vales*, p. 2335).

Livy relates how after the battle of Cannæ "the other consul (C. T. Varro) who, whether by chance or of set purpose, had not joined any large body of fugitives, fled with about seventy horsemen to Venusia" (XXII, 49).

Marcellus came to Venusia in 210 B.C. when he was following up Hannibal's army (XXVII, 2). Again in the next year Marcellus entered this city in the summer (XXVII, 20). In 207 B.C. the Roman army left Venusia to meet Hannibal (XXVII, 41).

The city suffered much through its loyalty to the Roman cause, as we may see from what Livy records of the year 200 B.C. "Triumvirs were appointed to make up the number of colonists to help Venusia, which had been made weak in the war with Hannibal, C. Terentius Varro, T. Quinctus Flamininus, P. Corne-

lius Cn., F. Scipio were appointed to the Venusian Colony (XXXI, 49).

The weight of the bronze coinage of the two Roman Colonies of Luceria and Venusia was arranged according to the Italian Pound of 341.10 grammes. It was one hundredth part of the light Babylonian Silver Talent of the Royal Norm. For the weight of the coins confer the chapter on the Italian Pound, page ().

Dr Head ascribes the early æs grave series of cast coins to about 292-250 B.C. (*Historia Num.*, p. 41). This would mean that these coins were issued by the Apulians before the city was taken by the Romans in 262 B.C.

In 298 B.C. the third Samnite War began, the Samnites invaded Lucania, the lands of the Roman allies in Lucania. It was therefore probably with these heavy cast coins the expenses of that war were met. Some of the types, as the heads of Pallas and Heracles and the owl shew the influence of Tarentum, but the crescent, the spear-head, and the boar point to native symbolism.

BRONZE COINS OF VENUSIA.

Libral system.

I. As. Size 2.55.

Obv. Forepart of Calydonian boar's head, to left, only one fore-leg visible.

Rev. Head of dog or wolf.

Brit. Mus.

II. As. Size 2.

Obv. Similar to No 1, but both fore-legs shewn.

Rev. A spear-head.

Brit. Mus.

III. As.

Obv. Same.

Rev. Head of Heracles.

IV. Quincunx.

Obv. Head of Pallas ooooo.

Rev. Owl. oooooo.

V. Triens. Size 2.

Obv. Head and neck of boar, to right, around oo.

Rev. A lyre, around oo.

Brit. Mus.

VI. Quadrans 1.

Obv. Forepart of boar, ooo.

Rev. Head of Heracles, ooo.

VII. Sextans. Size 1.5.

Obv. A boar's head, to left, above o, below, o.

Rev. An owl, to left, on either side oo.

Brit. Mus.

VIII. Uncia.

Obv. A crescent, and o.

Rev. Same type.

COIN OF UNCERTAIN SYSTEM.

IX. Sextans. Size 1.5.

Obv. A dolphin, to left, beneath, OO.

Rev. Same type as Obv.

Brit. Mus.

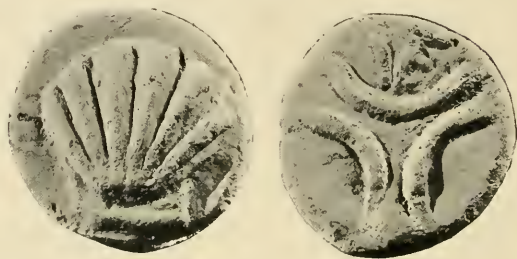
COINS WITH THE MONOGRAM ∇ E.

X. Sextans. Size 1.5.

Obv. A dolphin to left, above OO.

Rev. Same type with ∇ E above and OO below.

UNCERTAIN DENOMINATIONS.



XI. Size 1.35.

Obv. A cockle-shell.

Rev. Three crescents with horns turned outwards, within uppermost crescent ∇ E.

XII. Size .75.

Obv. Crescent, horns upwards.

Rev. Crescent, horns upwards and ∇ E above.

STRUCK COINS OF VENUSIA.

Triental system, after 250 B.C.

XIII. Quadrans. Size .95.

Obv. Head of Zeus, to left, laureated; behind $\begin{smallmatrix} \circ \\ \circ \end{smallmatrix}$.

Rev. Three crescents, horns outwards, within each a star of twelve rays: plain border.

WITH MONOGRAM ∇ E.

XIV. Sextans. Size .85.

Obv. Head of Pallas, to right, wearing crested Corinthian helmet, above O O.

Rev. Monogram **VE** enclosed by two dolphins downwards back to back.



XV. Uncia. Size .7. Obv. Bust, to waist, of young Heracles, to right, wearing his lion's skin, and holding a club over his right shoulder; in front **O** : border of dots.

Rev. Lion seated to left, head facing, holding spear with his right forepaw and mouth; in front **VE**. Some specimens have a plain border. Brit. Mus.

XVI. Semuncia. Size .55.

Obv. Boar's head and neck, to left, above **Σ**.

Rev. An owl to right; behind **VE**; plain border. Brit. Mus.

STRUCK COINS ON THE SEXTANTIAL AND UNCIAL SYSTEMS.

Circa 250-217 and later.

XVII. Double Nummus.

Obv. **VE**. Bust of Heracles, **NII**.

Rev. The Dioskuri **CAQ**. ? Berlin, Paris.

XVIII. Nummus.

Obv. Head of young Dionysos, to right, crowned with ivy; behind **VE**, border of dots.

Rev. Dionysos seated wearing short chiton and endromis, or coarse woollen cloak in which athletes wrapped themselves after their exercises, seated to left on a rock, holding bunch of grapes and thyrsos bound with riband, behind **N I** : plain border.

Brit. Mus.

XIX. Quincunx. Size 1.1.

Obv. Head of Zeus, to left, laureated, behind **O** : border of dots.

Rev. Eagle, to left, with wings open, standing on thunderbolt; in front **VE** : plain border. Brit. Mus.

XX. Quadrans. Size .95.

Obv. Head of Hera, to left, wearing stephane and veil; in front **VE**; behind **O** : border of dots.

Rev. Three crescents, horns outwards, in each a star of sixteen rays : plain border.

Some specimens with stars of twelve rays. Brit. Mus.

XXI. Sextans. Size. 9.

Obv. Head of Pallas, to left, wearing crested Corinthian helmet; above $\circ\circ$: border of dots.

Rev. Owl, on olive-branch, to left, behind **VE** : plain border.

Brit. Mus.

XXII. Sescuncia. Size .7.

Obv. Bust of Helios, full-faced, radiate, wearing chlamys fastened with brooch in front : border of dots.

Rev. Crescent, horns upwards, within which a star of sixteen rays : beneath \circ **S** and **VE** : plain border.

Brit. Mus.

XXIII. Uncia. Size .7.

Obv. Head of bearded Heracles, to left, wearing wreath : beneath \circ ; behind, a club ; upwards : border of dots.

Rev. A lion seated, to left, holding spear with his right forepaw and mouth ; in front **VE** plain border.

Brit. Mus.

STRUCK COINS OF UNCERTAIN SYSTEM.

XIV. Semis.

Obv. Head of Hermes.

Rev. **VE**. Winged shoe and caduceus.

? Berlin.

XXV. Size .5.

Obv. Toad : border of dots.

Rev. Crab ; beneath **VE** : plain border.

Brit. Mus.

CALABRIA

The lowland region in the south-eastern corner of Italy lying between two seas, was called by the ancients Messapia, a name which signifies its position between the seas. The inhabitants in the seventh century before Christ were known as Iapygians, but we can hardly say whether Ἰάπυγες the old word for the west-north-west wind was in any way connected with the name of the mythical founder or leader of the Cretan race which is said to have settled in Messapia in prehistoric times.

Strabo says "all the peoples who reach as far as Daunia were called Iapygians, from Iapyx who was born to Daedalus by a Cretan woman, and became a chief leader of the Cretans" (XII, 523). Servius in his notes on Virgil's *Aen.* (III, 332) tells a similar tale. Herodotus says the Cretans who had formed the army of Minos on their return from Sicily were cast upon the coast of Iapygia, where they founded the city of Hyria, and assumed the name Messapians (VII, 170.)

If we may derive that name from μέσσιος and Ἰάπυγες, they called themselves by a name descriptive of their new home.

Another version of the myth is told by Antoninus Liberalis, who flourished in the second century A. D. He calls Iapyx a son of Lycaon and brother of Daunius and Peucetius, who went as leaders of bands of colonists to Italy. The Calabrians most probably crossed the Adriatic to Italy and were descended from the Galabrii, for Strabo says: "To the Dardaniatae belong the Galabrii in whose territory is an ancient city". (VII, c. v. § 7).

There was a king of the Illyrian tribe, the Taulantii, who bore the name Galabrus, and it has been conjectured that the name Galabrii is a second name of that tribe. The Messapian Iapygians were also most probably in a like manner related to the Illyrian Iapygians, and the Cones (Κῶνες) on the Siris to the Κῆρυγες of Epeirus, and the Sallentini with the Salluntini. The Oenotrians, among whose tribes were the Chones, were Pelasgians descended from an Illyrian race. The Greeks represented Oenotrus as one of

the sons of Lycaon, the son of Pelasgus, who emigrated from Arcadia at a very early period (Pausanias, VIII, 3.5).

The story of Strabo that the Iapygians came from Crete must therefore be taken to apply only to a small tribe or city, and the union of all these tribes in a common hostility to the Greek colonists is explained by their common origin from Illyria.

The name Messapia was used in the time of Polybius and Strabo.

The language of the Messapians is said by Mommsen to have borne but a very distant analogy to those of the Oscans and Ausonians of the western side of Italy, and to have been more akin to that of the Greeks. The two principal tribes inhabiting Messapia were the Sallentini and the Calabri, and from the name of this latter tribe the Romans called the region Calabria. Virgil attributes to the Sallentini a Cretan origin, "and Lycian Idomeneus with his troops has possessed the plains of Sallentum" (*Aen.*, III, 400). Servius in his note on this passage says that Sextus Pompeius derived their name "a salo".

Niebuhr thought the Calabri were intruders of an Oscan race, but that opinion has not found much favour. The name Καλαβρία is first met with in the writings of Polybius, who was born about the year 204 B.C.

In modern times the name Calabria has been applied to the district on the west coast known to the ancients as Bruttium.

This alteration arose on account of the Byzantine Emperors calling the whole of Southern Italy Calabria, when it was under their rule. When they lost their dominion in Italy it happened that Bruttium was the last of their possessions to be held by them, and as they called it still Calabria that name has clung to it.

The modern name of the ancient Messapia is "Terra di Otranto".

Virgil's description of the country is very accurate: "Quum procul obscuros colles humilemque videmus Italiam, Italiam primus conclamat Achates" (*Aen.*, III, 522).

Confer Dante (*Inf.*, I, 106).

The land contains no mountains, and scarcely any high hills, the soil, consisting of a soft tertiary lime-stone, so readily absorbs all moisture that no rivers are formed. The soil is especially adapted to the growth of olives, and fruits of various kinds abound. Good wine was made from its grapes, and the land was celebrated both for its wool and honey. From a passage in Virgil's *Georgics* (III, 425) we learn that it was infested with dangerous snakes.

The celebrated horses of the Tarentines were bred on the Messapian downs. Polybius says that in his day the Apulians and Messa-

pians together could furnish not less than sixteen thousand cavalry (II, 24).

The Greek colonists, who brought to these Messapians a higher civilization, arrived about 708 B.C. and settled in Tarentum. It was not however without much fighting that the Greek supremacy was acquired.

Clarchus told the story of the destruction of the Iapygian city Carbina, the site of which was probably about twelve miles north of Brundisi. In that siege the Greeks perpetrated such atrocities that the wrath of the Gods was believed to rest upon them, so Athenaeus tells us in recounting the sad story (lib. XII, 23, p. 522).

In 473 B.C. the Iapygians defeated the Tarentines and inflicted upon them slaughter such as no Greek army had ever experienced (Herodotus, VII, 170).

Diodorus Siculus says the Iapygians had an army of twenty thousand men, and that in the flight of the Greeks from the field of battle, the Iapygians followed the fugitives in two bands, one to the gates of Tarentum, the other as far as to Rhegium (XI, LI). About 135 years afterwards the Tarentines again took the field having called for the help of the Spartan Archidamus who fell fighting the Iapygians on the very day of Philip's victory at Chaeroneia. Strabo tells the story of the similar fate which befell Agathocles (VI, 281).

The war was chiefly waged by the inland tribes, as the Iapygians dwelling in the cities on the coast gradually became enervated by luxury and more readily fell under Greek influence. Athenaeus describes their luxury and effeminate garments (XII, 253). Hence the conquest of the Peninsula by the Romans was rendered easy, and was attained in one single campaign, which is thus briefly recounted by Florus: "The Sallentines shared the fate of the people of Picenum, and Brundisium, the chief city of the country, with its famous harbour, was taken by Marcus Atilius". Zonaras also relates the story (VIII, 7).

The Sallentini revolted to Hannibal during the second Punic war in 213 B.C., but were again reduced to subjection (Livy XXV. 1; XXVII, 36).

The coins of the Messapians reveal very little of the thoughts or habits of the people; they show that in regard to art their citizens depended entirely upon the Greeks of Tarentum.

As to their religious beliefs, the coins show that they worshipped the gods of Greece, the heads of the following deities appearing on their coins, Zeus, Poseidon, Pallas, Aphrodite, Eros and Nike, the last two being represented as standing or flying. The demi-god Hercules appears, and we see the head of a beardless warrior, wearing an Italian conical helmet with a small crest, who may represent some unknown Iapygian leader, perhaps Iapyx or Phalanthus.

The accounts of the Messapians which have been handed down to our time all come from their enemies the Greeks. Strabo gives but little help to those who try to understand what manner of men they were; and it is only in the pages of Athenæus that we can glean anything of human interest. He represents them as luxurious and effeminate, but we may gather from the long-continued opposition they were able to maintain to the Tarentine armies that some of them were brave and skilful soldiers. Perhaps the words of Athenæus which refer to their luxury should be regarded as applicable rather to the dwellers in the cities near the coast than to the northern and inland tribes.

BALETIUM

About twelve miles south of Brundisium, near the village of Pietro Vernotico, are the remains of an ancient town which issued silver coins about 350 B.C. bearing the legends **FAΛEΘAZ**, and **BAΛEΘAZ**. It was mentioned by Pliny, in his list of cities, as between Lupia and Caelium; he spells it Balesium (lib. III. xi). In the Tabula it is spelt Valentia (*Itin. Hierosol.*, p. 609) and Valetium in Mela (II.4).

The site is still called by the natives Baleso, or Valesio, and they still call the old Roman road which passes through the site the Via Trajana. Vases, inscriptions, and other remains of the old city have been dug up on the spot.

The circuit of the ancient walls shews that it was a very small town. It is mentioned by Galateus (de situ Iapygiae, pp. 73, 74), and by Romanelli (vol. II, p. 79).

Garrucci thought the name Baletium was derived from the name Phalanthus, and the spelling of the name on the coins with **Θ** favours this idea.

The coins of Baletium are extremely rare, only four specimens are known to Numismatists; two of these are in the Cabinet at Naples, and the other two in the Cabinet de Luynes at Paris. Each Cabinet possesses a Didrachm and a Tetrobol of this city. The coins at Naples were bought for that Museum at the sale of the Nervegna collection at Rome, in 1907, and were found near Brundisium. Those at Paris were bought from Jules Sambon, who found them near Luppia in Calabria. They were illustrated in Plate XV of the *Revue numismatique*, 1859. The figure of Taras is there shown as of very barbarous workmanship, more like a monkey than a man. It is a didrachm weighing 118 grains.

The coins in the Naples Cabinet are illustrated by photographs, in the Sale Catalogue of the Nervegna Collection (p. 19, figures 235 236).

This didrachm weighs 7.92 grammes i.e. 122 grains. The figure of Taras is much better in execution, but still evidently a Messapian copy of Greek work. The Tetrobol at Naples weighs 2.58 grammes i.e. 39.40 grains.

I. Didrachm. Obv. Taras on a dolphin, to right, followed by a small dolphin, border of dots. $\Sigma\text{A}\oplus\Xi\Lambda\text{A}\text{Z}$.

Rev. Same legend, a dolphin, globule and crescent, in the field ΓE : a plain border.

II. Tetrolol. Obv. A dolphin, and around $\Sigma\text{I}\text{E}\text{A}\oplus\Lambda\text{A}\text{B}$.

Rev. A crescent, above ΓE : below $\Sigma\text{A}\oplus\Lambda\text{A}\text{B}$.

The characters or letters which form the legends on these coins of Baletium are archaic, and belong to an age earlier than that at which the coins were issued. Similar legends are found on the coins of other cities in Magna Graecia, as for instance on those of Croton. It is thought that in some cases the ancient forms of the letters may be accounted for by the engraver copying the inscription on some well-known old statue or work of art.

D^r Head in the *Historia Numorum* (p. 90) gives the date 443 B.C. as the period at which the change from the older characters to the newer took place in S. Italy, and in the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités* of Daremberg et Saglio, under the word Alphabet, the eighty-seventh Olympiad i. e. from 432-429 B.C. is given as the period during which the change took place in the Greek Alphabet. In the year 403 B.C. the second year of the ninety-fourth Olympiad the Ionian alphabet was adopted generally.

The letter Z is the so called $\text{Z}\eta\text{z}\eta\text{z}\eta\text{z}$ representing the sounds of *f* or *v* but more strongly.

The letter \oplus is the older form of the Θ with the "th" sound.

The letter Z is the old form of I , with the sound of *l*.

The presence of these archaic letters on a coin of the Messapians may indicate that writing was used among them at any rate for inscriptions before the conquest of the land by the Tarentines.

The shape of the letters on coin legends is not a certain sign of the date of their production.

BRUNDUSIUM

The coins of this well-known city are all Roman; none of the coins of the period before the establishment of the Roman colony have been preserved, although from the fact that coins were issued by the native cities in the neighbourhood in the fourth century before Christ we may feel sure that a native mint existed also in this city.

It was only 44 miles from Tarentum, and from the Roman types being those of Tarentum, Taras on the dolphin, we may imagine that if any earlier coins were issued they also bore that type.

The name of the city was derived from the shape of the port, which was thought to resemble a stag's head, called by the Messapians Brention or Brentesion. From Strabo (VI. 3, 6.) we learn: "It is said that a colony of Cretans settled in Brentesium, but the tradition varies, some say they were those who came with Theseus from Cnossus (about 1323 B.C.) others that they were some out of Sicily who had come with Japax; they agree however in saying that they did not abide there but went thence to Bottiaea. At a later period, when the state was under a monarch, it lost a large portion of its territories, which was taken by the Lacedaemonians who came over under Phalanthus; notwithstanding this the Brundusians received him when he was expelled from Tarentum, and honoured him with a splendid tomb at his death. They possess a district of superior fertility to that of the Tarentines for its soil is light, still it is fruitful, and its honey and wools are amongst the most esteemed: further the harbour of Brentesium is superior to that of Tarentum, for many havens are protected by the single entrance, and rendered perfectly smooth, many bays being formed within it, so that it resembles in fashion the antlers of a stag, whence its name, for the place together with the city is exceedingly like the head of a stag, and in the Messapian language the stag's head is called Brentesium; while the port of Tarentum is not entirely safe both on account of its lying very open and of certain shallows near its head".

Justin (III, iv) in telling the story of Phalanthus says: "But after several years their leader Phalanthus in a sedition being forced into banishment, betook himself to Brundusium whither the old Tarentines being driven from their homes had retired".

The city never received a colony of Greeks, and remained the chief port and city of the Iapygi until it was conquered by the Romans. It was in the year 267 B.C. that the Romans first attacked Brundisium (Zonaras, VIII, 7).

But though they took the city in that year they did not send a colony to possess it until 244 B.C. According to Livy (Epit. XIX) "two colonies were established, at Fregenæ and Brundisium in the Sallentine territories".

Velleius Paterculus (I, 14) informs us "when Torquatus and Sempronius were consuls, Brundisium was occupied with a colony". He says it was three years before the games of Flora were instituted.

Florus (I, 20) says: "The Sallentines shared the fate of the people of Picenum, and Brundisium the chief city of that country, with its famous harbour, was taken by Marcus Atilius. In this contest, Pales, the goddess of shepherds, demanded of her own accord a temple as the price of victory". This was the same Atilius who consecrated the Temple of Concord in Rome (Livy, XXIII, 22.)

In the first Illyrian war in 229 B.C. the Romans assembled their fleet at Brundisium (Polyb. II, 11) and in the second Punic war this was their chief naval station from which to oppose Philip of Macedon (Livy, XXIII, 48, XXIV, 10).

Hannibal in vain attempted to take the city, and Brundisium was one of the eighteen colonies which supplied men and means with which to assist the army (XXV, 22, XXVII, 10).

It became the port from which all the Roman armies which conquered Greece and the east started, and to which they returned in triumph.

The coins of Brundisium have been divided into three classes by Mommsen (*Hist. Mon. Rom.*, éd. Blacas, Vol. III, pp. 367-369). This classification is also given by Dr Head (*Hist. Num.*, p. 43).

"Series II B.C. 217-200 Uncial w^t, consists of the Triens 0000-Quadrans 000, Sexans 00, Uncia 0". Mommsen explains that coins of semiuncial weight were widely struck in Italy, outside Rome, before 89 B.C., and that the Lex Papiria of that year was in effect merely the legal authorization of the currency of already existing local issues of semiuncial weight, and of the issue in future of these light coins at Rome itself. In regard to the coins of Brundisium it would only be possible to draw a hard and fast line between the three series by the examination of a much larger collection of these coins than that in the British Museum.

COINS OF BRUNDISIUM.

The coinage began to be issued in 245 B.C. when the city was made a colony.

There are two series of coins which we can distinguish by their weights alone, as the types are similar in each series.

Series I. 245-217 B.C.

TRIENTAL STANDARD.

1. Sextans. Size 1 inch or 1.5.

Obv. Head of Poseidon, to right, laureated : behind a trident, above which a wreath-bearing Nike : beneath, oo : border of dots.



Rev. **BR AN**. Taras on a dolphin to left, carrying figure of wreath bearing Nike and lyre ; beneath, oo : plain border.

2. Uncia. Size .9.

Obv. Same type, but o as mark of value.

Rev. Same type, but Taras is carrying a cornucopiæ instead of a lyre ; behind, a club upwards ; beneath o as mark of value.

3. Semuncia. Size .75.

Obv. Same type ; but with no mark of value.



Rev. Similar type, but Taras is carrying a lyre instead of a cornucopiæ ; behind, a star with eight rays.

4. Senuncia. Size .7.

Obv. Same type ; but the trident is longer, and the figure of Nike is omitted.

Rev. Similar type, but Taras is carrying a kantharos and lyre ; behind Σ in place of a symbol.

5. Quarter of Uncia. Size .55. Sicilicus or Siciliquus.

Obv. Similar to last.

Rev. **BRVN**. Similar type, but behind **C**. For the name Sicilicus cf. Scaev. Dig., 33, 1, 21 Q Mutius Scaevola. Obv 82 B.C.

6. Eighth of an Uncia. Size .4. Olce?

Obv. Nike to right holding pellet and palm : border of dots.

Rev. Similar to last, **BRVN**. Dolphin to left, above **Λ** : plain border.



Series 200-89 B.C.

REDUCED UNCIAL STANDARD.

7. Semis. Size .85,

Obv. Head of Poseidon, to right, laureated ; behind, a Trident above which wreath-bearing Nike, beneath **Ω**.

Rev. **BR VN**. Taras on dolphin to left, carrying wreath-bearing Nike and lyre ; behind Taras. **S** : plain border. Various initials as **C·P·M·BIT·VC, Q·E**.

8. Triens. Size .85.

Obv. Similar type, but beneath head **oooo**.

Rev. Similar type, but beneath **oooo**.

9. Quadrans. Size .65.

Obv. Similar type, but beneath, **ooo**.

Rev. Similar type, but beneath, **ooo**.

The Semuncial Standard was introduced in 89 B.C.


GRA... GRAXA.

The coins of this city, the site of which has not yet been discovered, were attributed by Eckhel (Vol. I, p. 92) to Graviscæ, a town on the coast of Etruria. From the types and fabric, however, they must have been issued from a city in Calabria; moreover, they are found on the coast of the gulf of Tarentum.

They are small bronze pieces belonging to the Semuncial system or perhaps to the reduced uncial system if we regard them as slightly earlier than the year 9 B.C. (Millingen, *Numismatique de l'Italie*, pp. 148, 172). The British Museum Catalogue mentions them as the coins of an "uncertain town of Calabria" (p. 221). Garrucci says these coins are found in numbers near Fasano, especially near S.M. di Agnazzo. He does not think ΓΡΑ = Gnathia or Egnatia. On one of the coins found there the legend was ΓΡΑΞΑ not ΓΡΑ. Garrucci says it was in Apulia north of Brindisi, Millingen thought it was for ΓΡΑΙΑ ΚΑΛΛΙΠΟΛΙΣ, (Mela, XI, 4.) but the most probable site is Fasano.

I. Coin with no mark of value. Size .65.

Obv. Head of Zeus to right laureate : border of dots.

Rev. Two eagles on thunderbolt to right; in field, to right, a crescent, horns pointing to left, ΓΡΑ in exergue. The specimen in the Brit. Museum is countermarked on the Reverse  on the left hand side. *Num. Chron.*, 201. Vol. IV, 4th series.

II. Quadrans. Size .65.

Obv. Head of Zeus, to right, ooo.

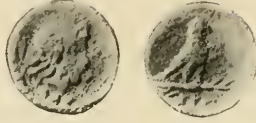
Rev. ΓΡΑ. Two eagles on a fulmen; one variety with a star to right on Reverse was given by Sir Henry Howorth to the Brit. Museum.



III. Quadrans. Size .6.

Obv. Head of Zeus, to right, ooo.

Rev. ΓΡΑ. One eagle on a fulmen.



IV. Uncia. Size .6.



Obv. A cockle-shell, a star.

Rev. One eagle on a fulmen.

V. Half-Uncia?

Obv. A cockle-shell, ☉.

Rev. One eagle on a fulmen.

VI. Half Uncia?

Obv. A cockle-shell.

Rev. A dolphin.

HYRIA or ORRA

Herodotus, in his account of the return of the Cretans from Sicily, records the story of the foundation of Hyria, the most ancient of the Iapygian cities, and as he wrote his history in Magna Graecia he would have the advantage of hearing local traditions.

“ When they (the Cretans) were sailing along the coast of Japygia a violent storm overtook them, and drove them ashore. As their ships were broken to pieces, and there appeared no means of returning to Crete, they thereupon founded the city of Hyria, and settled there, changing their name from Cretans to Messapian Iapygians, and becoming, instead of islanders, inhabitants of the continent. From the city of Hyria they founded other cities, which, a long time after, the Tarentines endeavouring to destroy signally failed ” (VII, 170).

It seems at first sight strange that a seafaring people such as the Cretans should have chosen to build their city so far from the sea as twenty miles from both Brundisium and Tarentum. The site was fifteen miles from the nearest sea beach along the bay of Tarentum.

The Appian way was afterwards made to pass Hyria, thus connecting it with Brundisium and Tarentum.

On the site of Hyria a modern town exists, called Oria, built on a low hill commanding an extensive view of the country around. No remnants of the ancient city now exist, but inscriptions in the Messapian dialect have been found, and bronze coins which are fairly common. Hyria was the headquarters of the opponents of the Tarentines, and the citizens seem to have resisted the luxury which rendered those of the coast cities effeminate. The coins of Hyria do not bear witness to the religion or life of the Messapians prevailing before the Roman conquest. Whether they ever issued silver coins, or had a mint before the issue of the bronze coins now known to us, we cannot tell.

The two deities whose heads appear on the coins are Pallas and Aphrodite, and the only other obverse type is the head of a beardless warrior wearing a conical helmet, with a small crest, very similar to one of the Italian helmets in the British Museum, in the case on

the right-hand side of the entrance to the Numismatic Room. As the helmet is of the Italian form, and differs from the Greek helmet we may regard the head as that of some legendary national hero, perhaps that of Iapyx. A strong national or civic feeling is thus expressed, at a time long after the Greeks and Romans had subdued their city.

The cult of Aphrodite is rare in South Italy, and may point to some connection with Corinth, the nearest city which used the head of this goddess as a coin-type.

In the *Tabula Peutinger* there is evidence of the cult of Aphrodite being celebrated in Apulia about twenty miles north of the borders of Calabria.

“Gnatia VIII, ad Venesis VIII, Norve, leg. VI, Ehetium VIII, Celia VIII, leg. XI, Butuntos”.

That is “Gnathia, Norba, Azetium, Caelia, Butuntum”. The station marked “ad Venesis”, between Gnatia and Norba, is on a hill now called Monte S. Pietro, and the Latin form for Aphrodite is only what we should expect in Roman *Tabula*. The distance of this temple from Hyria or Orra is only thirty-five miles.

The coin of Hyria bearing the head of Aphrodite shews there was also a temple to that goddess in Hyria of Calabria. At Poseidonia the cult of Aphrodite was known (cf. pp. 98 and 108 of *Coins of Magna Graecia*) and a head of this goddess appears on bronze coins of Laus. The dolphin which appears on coins of Calabria may be regarded as an emblem of Aphrodite as well as of Poseidon and may therefore be added to the witness of the prevalence of this cult in Calabria.

BRONZE COINS OF ORRA.



I. Quincunx. Size .8.

Obv. Head of Pallas, to right, wearing helmet with three crests and two feathers between them, one of which is seen.

Rev. **ORRA**. Eagle to right, wings open, standing on thunderbolt: beneath ooooo.

Varieties. On some coins a border of dots on Obverse. The Reverse type is treated rather differently on some, but the type is the same.

II. Triens. Size .75.

Obv. Same type as Quincunx, but behind the head the letters **AA** : no border.

Rev. Same type as Quincunx, but oooo as mark of value.



COINS OF UNCERTAIN DENOMINATIONS.

III. Size .7.

Obv. Head of beardless warrior, to right, wearing conical helmet with small crest : behind the head the letters **AA**.

Rev. **ORRA**. An eagle, to right, on thunderbolt.

IV. Quincunx. Size .7.

Obv. Bust of Aphrodite to right, with sceptre, wearing wreath of uncertain foliage, stephane, earring, and necklace : border of dots.

Rev. **ORRA**. Eros, walking to right, playing on a lyre : behind, five dots, the marks of value, in vertical line : plain border.



V. Quadrans. Size .6.

Obv. Same as IV.

Rev. **ORRA**. Eros, walking to right, holding a fillet with both hands ; in front ^o : plain border.

VI. Sextans ? Size .6.

Obv. Same as IV and V.

Rev. Dove flying to right holding wreath in her talons : beneath oo? : plain border.



NERETUM

It is only twelve years ago that a bronze coin of this city was made known to numismatists, hence we do not find this name, Neretum, in the Catalogue of the British Museum. The discovery of the coin was made known through the 'Zeitschrift für Numismatik' (Band XXI, p. 251) in 1898. However in 1814 a specimen of the same coin was sold at the sale of the Count Wiczay. It is interesting to compare this old catalogue, illustrated with line engravings, with one of our modern catalogues : the coin of Neretum is seen illustrated on Plate XXVIII, no 625. The catalogue is called *Musei Hedervarii in Hungaria Catalogue*. C. Michael Wiczay. Vindobonæ 1814. Some of the coins were bought for the French Cabinet. A third specimen of the coins of Neretum, a silver diobol, has been found in the British Museum, where it had been placed among the coins of Macedonia.

Neretum is one of those Iapygian cities lying about five miles from the coast of the bay of Tarentum, twenty-five miles north-west of Uxentum, and about fifty miles south-east of Tarentum. The modern town on the old site, called Nardo, contains no remains of antiquity. Neretum is not mentioned by any ancient authors except Pliny and Ptolemy, who merely give the name as among the cities of the Iapygians (Pliny III, 11. Ptol. III, 1. 76 and Tab. Peut.).

From these coins we gather that the deity worshipped at Neretum was Apollo, whose full-length figure appears on the bronze, and whose head is represented on the silver coin in the British Museum. The cult of Apollo is said to have been widely spread from Crete, and as the Messapians are said to have been descended from shipwrecked Cretans, it is not surprising that we should find this cult at Neretum.

SILVER COINS.

1. Obv. Head of Apollo, to right, laureate.

Rev. ^{9A}
N, a lyre. Size .35. Weight : 7.7 grains.

BRONZE COINS.

Obv. Head of Apollo, to right, laureate.

Rev. **NEPHTI NQN**. Apollo seated on a chair, holding in his left hand a lyre, and in his extended right hand a plectrum. The upper part of his body is nude, his garment, the himation, thrown over his knees, his head is turned full face, and his hair is parted in the middle.

In the field, in front, a tripod, with fillets hanging from the sides.

STURNIUM.

Pliny mentions a town of this name among the cities of Calabria (III, xi), and it was also mentioned by Ptolemy (III, I, § 77).

It is known to numismatists as having issued some small bronze coins of the same type as those of Graxa, differing only in the legend **STY**, instead of **ΓΡΑ**.

The town has been identified by Romanelli with the modern village of Sternaccia, situated about ten miles south of Lecce (the ancient Lupiæ) and a short distance north-east of Soleto (Soletum).

(Cluver Ital., p. 1231. Romanelli. Vol. II, p. 114). Soletum is about sixty miles south-east of Tarentum, the coins of which city were evidently copied by the citizens of Sturnium.

Size .65. Obv. A cockle-shell.

Rev. **ΣΤΥ**. An eagle, to right, with wings open, standing on a thunderbolt.

UXENTUM.

Uxentum is one of the old native cities of the Iapygians, which from its position, five miles from the bay of Tarentum, and sixty-five from that city, came under the influence of the Tarentines, and issued bronze coins with types which recall those of that Greek city. The site is only about fifteen miles from the headland called Iapygium or Salentinum, the most easterly point of Italy, which we commonly call the heel.

The only mention of Uxentum by ancient writers is the occurrence of the name in lists of cities of Calabria in Pliny (III, xi) and Ptolemy (III, 1, 76). Many ancient tombs have been found on the site, from which coins, vases, and inscriptions in the dialect of the Messapians have been taken.

The spelling of the name varies; for instance in the Tabula it is spelt Uhintum, and in some Mss. of Pliny "Ulentini", but Ptolemy gives Uxentum. Its modern name is Ugento.

In the Tauchnitz ed. of Strabo Vol. II, p. 49 the name is spelt Θυρζιζι, but the reading is uncertain. Kramer prefers Οῦρζιζ, some Mss. have Θυρζιζι, some Θῦρζιζι. The corruption is probably the mistake of writing Θ for O.

The legends on the coins give the name as **OIAN** or **OZAN**, giving both the earlier form **I**, and the later form **Z**, of the letter ζη-z which represented the sounds of *s* and *d* mixed. The Dorians made the *s* sound predominate, and the Ionians the *d* sound.

Some of the coins bear only the letters **AO**, and the name was probably written in full **AOIAN**.

The coins witness to the cults of Pallas and Heracles, and one type represents a Janiform head, without beard, wearing a crested helmet designed to fit the double head. A Janiform female head is found on a Quincunx of Rhegnum, but that head is adorned, not with a helmet, but with modius, stephane, earrings, and necklace.

At Paestum a Janiform head of Juno Moneta was issued, and on early Asses of Volterra a diademed Janus head is found. The reason of this wide distribution of the design has not yet been explained.

Thucydides in recording the events of 413 B.C. (VII, 33) mentions that Demosthenes and Eurymedon crossed the Ionian gulf to the

Iapygian foreland (Ἰαπυγίαν). “ Starting thence they touched at the Choerades Islands, lying off Iapygia, and took on board their ships some Iapygian dartmen (Ἰαπυγίων τεύχεσσι) one hundred and fifty in number, of the Messapian tribe : and after renewing an old friendship with Artas, who also had provided them with the dartmen, being one of their chieftans, they arrived at Metapontum in Italy ”. These islands are little more than low rocks lying about four miles from Tarentum, now called Isole di S. Pietro e S. Paulo.

This Artas may have been the ruler of Uxentum, or of Neretum, and he is interesting as bearing one of the few names of Messapian leaders known to us.

BRONZE COINS OF UXENTUM.

I. Size .5.

Obv. Head of Pallas to right, wearing crested Corinthian helmet and necklace.



Rev. AO. Heracles standing nude to left holding his club downwards in his right hand and a cornucopiae and the lion's skin in his left.

II. Size .4.

Obv. An eagle, standing to right, with wings open, on a thunderbolt?

Rev. AO. A two handled vase, on either side of which a star of eight rays.




III. Size .85. It is called an As in B.M.C.



Obv. A Janiform beardless head, wearing crested helmet : plain border.

Rev. **OZAN**. Heracles as on No. 1 : in front, Nike to right crowning him : plain border.

IV. Semis. Size .75.

Obv. Similar to No 1 but with mark of value  beneath the head of Pallas.

Rev. **OIAN**. Similar to Rev. of No 1, but in front an ear of wheat, and **S** : border of dots. On a variety of this type the symbol is a goat's head downwards to right, and **S** : no border.

UNIDENTIFIED COINS.

In the British Museum there is a small brass coin of Calabria, size nearly $\frac{2}{8}$ of an inch.

Obv. Dolphin to right, small in proportion to the coin.

Rev. A star of eight rays round small bold boss. It is not yet catalogued, or attributed to any city.

The dolphins appear on small brass coins of Graxa with a small crescent and star above. It is noticeable that we have the star on the Rev. of the above unidentified coin.

Two dolphins appear on small bronze coins of Tarentum; and on small silver coins of Tarentum we find a dolphin, and beneath, a thunderbolt.

At Brundisium a small bronze coin bore a dolphin, and above the letter \downarrow .

A dolphin with two dots, marking the Sextans, appears on coins of Venusia, size 1.5. and of Luceria size .9. A star of eight rays appears on coins of Teate, and a star of seven rays on coins of Salapia.

A star of eight rays also appears on coins of Luceria above a horse prancing, and on the coins of the Romano-Campanian series.

The eight-rayed star does not apparently occur on any of the coins of the purely Greek cities, but is common to many of the coins of the native races. Its signification has not been explained and it is hazardous to venture upon any suggestion. Is it the star of hope, or is it the rising sun of the young races entering upon the civilized life, or is it a sign of some worship of one of the heavenly bodies?

LUCANIA.

The boundary of Lucania on the west is the sea-coast, from a few miles north of Poseidonia to a few miles north of Laus; on the east, the coast of the Bay of Tarentum from the mouth of the river Bradanus to a few miles south of Thurii. The northern boundary is formed by about twenty miles of the border of Campania, and twenty of that of Samnium, fifty-five miles of the border of Apulia, and about twenty of that of Calabria. The southern boundary stretches about forty miles from sea to sea along the borders of Bruttium.

In the early days of the Greek colonization this district was known as *Ænotria*. Scylax is the earliest author who used the name *Lucania*; he is supposed to have flourished in the last half of the fourth century B. C.

The *Ænotrians*, regarded as belonging to the Pelasgian race, were easily assimilated with the Greek colonists, and appear to have been unwarlike. The troubles of the Greeks with the native races only began with the appearance of the *Lucanians*, who were of the *Sabelian* race, a branch of the *Samnite* nation. Strabo says “ the *Lucani* are of *Samnite* origin. — We will narrate in a general manner what we have gathered concerning the *Lucani*, who dwell in the interior, without too much care in distinguishing them from the *Samnites*, their neighbours. *Petelia* is considered the metropolis of the *Lucani*, and is still well populated. It owes its foundation to *Philoctetes*, who was compelled to quit *Meliboea* on account of civil dissensions. Its position is so strong that the *Samnites* were formerly obliged to fortified it as a defence against *Thurii* ” (Strabo, VI, 1, 3).

Petelia is in *Bruttium*, which was won by the *Lucani* before the *Bruttii* rose to independence. For a description of the life of these early *Lucanians* confer that by Justin given in the following chapter on the *Bruttii*. *Petelia*, situated about three miles from the eastern shore, and about thirteen north of *Croton*, probably fell into the hands of the *Lucanians* about 370 B. C. The peace enjoyed by the founders of the Greek colony at *Thurium* only forty miles to the north of *Petelia*, shows that the *Lucanians* had not invaded the land at the time when that city was founded.

When the Lucanians entered this district they attacked first the cities on the West coast. Poseidonia was the first to fall before them, and soon after they attacked Thurium, which was defended by Cleandridas. In 393 B.C. they had grown so formidable that a defensive league was made by the Greek cities who were attacked by both the Lucanians and the Syracusans under Dionysius (Diod. Sic., XIV, 91). Diodorus (12, 101) says they numbered thirty-four thousand men (Niebuhr, p. 46, ed. 1827).

In 390 B.C. the Lucanians gained a great victory at Laus, and again in 368 B.C. they conquered Croton. The Syracusans soon found their allies, the Lucanians, dangerous, and the younger Dionysius concluded a treaty of peace with them in 358 B.C., when the Lucanians were at the height of their power. Two years later the Bruttians took Terina. In 338 B.C. the Tarentines suffered a defeat from the Lucanians, and Archidamus, King of Sparta, was slain. Alexander of Epirus however, defeated the Lucanians at Paestum, but fell in 326 B.C. fighting the Bruttians. In 303 B.C. they concluded a treaty of peace with the Tarentines, who were helped by Cleonymus of Sparta. They soon afterwards rebelled and joined their kinsfolk, and it was not until 317 B.C. that the Romans were able to punish them for their rebellion, by sending the consul Æmilius into Lucania, and taking Nerulum by assault, a city fifteen miles north-east of Laus (Livy, 9, 20).

In the year 304 B.C. the Lucanians were included in the peace then made with the Samnites. From that time they became the friends of the Roman people, and it was because they were attacked by the Samnites that the Romans began the Third Samnite War. Generally the Lucanians were faithful to Rome throughout that war, but in 286 B.C. they attacked Thurium, which was defended by the Romans, and in 282 B.C. C. Fabricius defeated them in a great battle near that city. We know the names of some Lucanian chieftains, viz. Stenius, and Statilius (p. 96, 118 Pliny, *N. H.*, 34. and Livy, XXIII, 8).

Mommsen says (vol. I, p. 271) : “ Consentia, which seems to have been the federal head-quarters of the Sabellians settled in Magna Graecia, fell into the hands of Alexander the Molossian. In vain the Samnites came to the help of the Lucanians; Alexander defeated their combined forces near Paestum. On his death in 332 at Poseidonia by the hand of a Lucanian emigrant, matters reverted substantially to their old position. ”

At the beginning of the Samnite wars with Rome, the Lucanians were at first in favour of joining their kinsmen, the Samnites, but such an alliance involved peace with Tarentum, which many of the Lucanian chiefs would not allow, as it would stop their profitable pillaging raids. The Lucanians therefore made alliance with Rome in 326 B.C. (Livy, 8, 25).

When Pyrrhus in 281 B.C. arrived in Italy, the Lucanians sent troops to assist his army, and did good service at the battle of Ausculum. On the departure of Pyrrhus Lucania was desolated and punished by the Romans under C. Fabricius, and at length subdued by Sp. Carvilius and L. Papius Cursor, in 272 B.C. (Livy, *Epit.*, 13, 14).

In the Second Punic War the Lucanians were strong enough to aid the Romans with 30,000 foot, and 3,000 horsemen. After the battle of Cannae in 216 B.C., they declared in favour of Hannibal, but this defection from Rome brought no peace, as their land was the battle-ground of Sempronius Gracchus and Hanno. At length in 209 B.C. they returned to their alliance with the Romans (Livy, 27, 15) but this secured them no respite until Hannibal withdrew after the battle of Metaurus in 207 B.C.

All traces of distinct nationality were destroyed by Sulla in the Social War.

LUCANIAN COINS.

The first signs of the power of the Lucanians are seen soon after 390 B.C. on the coinage of the Greek cities of Magna Graecia conquered by them. It is only natural that the fierce warlike Sabellian tribes should use the mints of the conquered cities.

Among the coins of Metapontum we find drachms bearing on the Obverse a head of Pallas to right, in Corinthian helmet; Reverse, an ear of corn with leaf to right, on which is an owl: **ΛΟΥΚΑ** in field to left. Other drachms with **META**, and **ΛΥΚ** in monogram, and others with **META** on Reverse, and **ΛΥΚ** in a countermark.

We find the Sabellian form of the letter **ϸ** on coins of Hipponium.

Some coins struck in Caulonia appear from their style to be the work of the Lucanians when rulers of that city (*Coins of Magna Graecia*, p. 181).

On bronze coins of Laus we find the names of the leader of the Lucanians **STA** and **ΟΥΙ**. Statilius is mentioned by Pliny as the leader of their arms besieging Thurium.

Between 300 and 268 B.C. staters weighing 111 grs. were issued by the Lucanian rulers at Poseidonia (*Coins of Magna Graecia*, p. 102).

Many other coins of the Greek cities which are barbarous in style may probably be accounted for by the conquest of those cities by the Lucanians.

BRONZE COINS OF THE LUCANIANS.

The coins, which are more thoroughly Lucanian in type and legend, are all of bronze. The earlier series probably issued at the time of the Pyrrhic war 280-274 B.C., bear the legend **ΛΟΥΚΑΝΟΜ** on the Reverse with a figure of Bellona. The later series issued probably during the war with Hannibal, 216-207 B.C., bear the legend **ΛΥΚΙΑΝΩΝ** on the Reverse, and a Head of Heracles on the Obverse.

First issues.

I. Size 1. Obv. Head of Mars to left wearing crested Corinthian helmet on which a griffin; beneath, a thunderbolt.

Rev. **ΛΟΥΚΑΝΟΜ**. Bellona, to right, standing in fighting attitude clothed in long chiton with diploidion, head facing, wearing helmet; on left arm a large shield which she holds by the rim with her right hand; over the left shoulder a spear, point downwards: border of dots. Brit. Mus.

II. Size .65. Obv. Head of Nike to left, wearing broad diadem, earring and necklace; her hair in a knot behind, bound with a fillet the ends of which hang down.

Rev. **ΛΟΥΚΑΝΟΜ**. Zeus standing, nude, to right, hurling a thunderbolt with his right hand, and holding a spear in his left. Brit. Mus.

Coins not in the British Museum described by L. Sambon in *Recherches sur la Monnaie de la Presqu'île italique* (Naples, 1870, p. 258).

III. Obv. Head of Mars.

Rev. Victory crowning a trophy, **ΛΟΥΚΑΝΟΜ**.

IV. Size .85. Obv. Head of Jupiter to right, laureate; behind, a spear-head: border of dots.

Rev. **ΛΟΥΚΑΝΟΜ**. Eagle to left looking back, wings open, in field to left, a wolf's head to right, upwards: border of dots.

V. Size small? Obv. Head of Pallas in Corinthian helmet.

Rev. An owl on a branch: **ΛΟΥΚΑΝΟΜ**.

Second Series.

VI. Size 1. Obv. Head of young Heracles to right, wearing lion's skin; beneath a spear-head to right: border of dots.

Rev. The same type as that of No. 1. but there is added a wolf's head to right, in the field to right: border of dots.

The legend also is **ΛΥΚΙΑΝΩΝ**.

VII. Size .85. Obv. Head of Zeus to right, laureate: behind, a spear-head: border of dots.

Rev. **ΛΥΚΙΑΝΩΝ**. An eagle to left, looking back, wings open ; in field to left a wolf's head to right, upwards : border of dots.

VIII. L. Sambon adds a coin with the same type at No. 2. but with the legend **ΛΥΚΙΑΝΩΝ**. Of these coins Nos. 1, 2, 6. and 7 are to be seen in the British Museum ; Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 8 are described by L. Sambon.

TYPES OF THE BRONZE COINS.

The deities represented on these coins are those held in honour by the Samnites and Sabellians, Mars, Bellona and Jove, but intercourse with the Greeks had made the Lucanians also familiar with Nike, or Victoria, and the hero Heracles. The head of this hero had appeared on the coins of Etruria, Larinum and Luceria, but in all cases were copied from the Greek type.

MARS.

In the British Museum Catalogue the head of Mars is described as Ares, but that is only the application of a Greek name to the Italian deity who was generally identified with Ares. The same head appears on coins of Cosa, Consentia, Petelia and those of the Bruttii. The Lucanians probably called this deity Mamers or Mavers or Mavors (Varro). From this god Mamers, the tribe called Mamer-tines in Messina derived their name. The wolf was regarded as the symbol of Mars, and hence we find on the coins a wolf's head, which may also have reference to the name of the tribe Lucani *Λύκωνες* derived from *λύκος* a wolf.

The spelling of their name in Strabo *λευκωνοί* as if from *λευκός*, white, is evidently a mistake, the coins giving sufficient evidence as to the original spelling (Strabo, VI, 253). But the name *λευκωνοί* is only the translation into Greek of the Sabine word for the wolf-folk, the Hirpini, who dwelt just to the north of Lucania in the mountains, and who probably were the stock from which the Lucanians emigrated, and their old name naturally received a Greek form when they came in contact with the Greeks. Strabo thus describes them : "Beyond are the Hirpini, who are also Samnites ; their name they take from the wolf which conducted their colony, a wolf being called by the Samnites Hirpus" (Strabo, V, 250).

The fierce wolves were the natural emblems of the ideal deity of the war-loving men who sought by war new homes in the plains when driven forth by hunger from the dreary mountains of Samnium. The worship of Mars is too familiar to need further notice

here. This cult of the god among the Lucanians represents the furthest limit attained to the south, and here the Romans learnt to identify their own Mars with the Greek god Ares.

BELLONA.

Bellona, regarded as the wife or sister of Mars, was equally a Samnite goddess, and her cult is thought to have been introduced to Rome by the Sabines. Her character is the same as that of Mars; her's was the influence that urged men to bloodshed and cruelty. As her figure is not represented on the Roman Consular coinage these coins of the Lucani are especially interesting. The Bruttii, descended from the Lucanians, are the only other people who represented her on their coins. We should have expected to see a scourge or whip in her hand from the references in the poets, but the coins shew her as bearing a spear just as Hera was represented among the Greeks, and the change may be owing to Greek influence.

Virgil describes her (*Aen.*, VIII, 703): "Quam cum sanguineo sequitur Bellona flagello" (whom Bellona follows with her bloody scourge). And Lucan in his *Pharsalia* (VII, 569) speaks of her "as Bellona shaking her blood-stained whip". Horace says: "He who is wicked will be frantic too. Bellona who delights in bloodshed has thundered about him whom precarious fame has captivated" (*Sat.*, II, III, 221-3). Livy gives us the prayer of self-dedication made by Decius in 338 B.C. as beginning "Jupiter, Father Mars, Quirinus, Bellona, ye Lares", &c. The finest account of the goddess is in *Sic. Italic Pun.* V, 220 sq.

Ovid refers to the building of her temple in his *Fasti* (VI, 201): "On this day (Mar. 24) Bellona is said to have been enshrined in the Etrurian war; she, auspicious ever, favours Latium, Appius was the builder, he who when peace was refused to Pyrrhus saw clearly in his mind, though, as to his eyes, he was blind." The building was erected in 296 B.C. (Livy, X, 19). There is a treatise on this cult by C. Tiesler "de Bellonae cultu et sacris" (Berlin, 1842).

ZEUS or JUPITER.

The worship of the god who ruled the heavens, giving rain and thunder, was as common in Italy as in Greece. There also his cult was associated with hills and high places. The mountain tribes of Samnium naturally worshipped this god, and among the Oscans he was called Lucerius or Lucsius, a name derived from the word for light corresponding with the word Dies, whence *Diovis*, *Diespiter*, *Diovispiter* and *Jupiter*. The head of this god on types Nos. IV and VII is therefore one which the Lucanians would

regard as representative of one of their own natural cults and not merely a copy of the Greek god Zeus.

NIKE *and* HERACLES.

The Lucanians would meet with the figure of Nike on the coins of Neapolis, Hipponium, Medma and Metapontum. This type is explained in *Coins of Magna Graecia* (p. 216, 217). Heracles would probably have been known to them before their invasion, but they would meet with many types representing this hero on the coins of the cities conquered by them; for instance, at Croton, Metapontum, Neapolis, Thurium, Valentia, and Velia, and the types of Heracles are purely Greek. The fact that the coins of their kinsmen the Bruttii are so much more common than those of the Lucanians shows that the former enjoyed greater prosperity and suffered less from the vengeance of the Romans.

COPIA IN LUCANIA.

In 194 B.C. the ruined city of Thurii was chosen as the site for a Roman Colony with Latin rights. Livy recounts the fact, and tells us the names of the triumviri Cn. Manlius, Q. Aelius, and L. Apustius (XXXIII, 53).

Strabo (VI, 263) says the Thurians "appealed to the Romans, who in course of time sent a colony when it was nearly deserted, and changed the name of the city to Copiæ".

The old name however prevailed, for Caesar long afterwards called it Thurii (*Civ. bell.*, III, 22).

Writing of the year 193 B.C. Livy (XXXV, 9) says: "In that same year Cn. Manlius Vulso, L. Apustius Fullo, and Q. Aelius Tubero led a Latin colony into the Thurian territory by the law proposed by Tubero. Three thousand footmen went, and three hundred knights, a small number compared with the amount of the land."

They were able to give thirty jugera apiece to the footmen and sixty to the knights. Livy does not name the Colony, and we gather its name from Strabo, and the legends of the coins.

BRONZE COINS OF COPIA.

Semis.

I. Size .75. Head of Isis?, to right, wearing lotus, and veil over a bird head-dress; behind, S: plain border.

Rev. **LCQ COPIA**. A cornucopiæ, from which leaves and fruit protrude: plain border.



The three letters are the names of the Triumvirs mentioned by Livy.

Another example omits the three letters on Rev., and inserts a caduceus in their place, in field to left.

Triens.

II. Size .75. Obv. Head of Pallas to right, wearing crested Corinthian helmet : plain border.

Rev. C·Λ·Q COPIA. Same type. In field to left $\begin{smallmatrix} \circ \\ \circ \\ \circ \end{smallmatrix}$: plain border.

Quadrans.

III. Size .55. Obv. Head of young Heracles to right, wearing lion's skin ; behind $\begin{smallmatrix} \circ \\ \circ \end{smallmatrix}$: border of dots.

Rev. L·L·AID
COPIA: Similar type ; beneath ooo: plain border.

The type of Isis.

This appears to be the only coin bearing the figure of Isis struck in Italian Magna Graecia, and the introduction of such a foreign type may be explained by the greater readiness of the Romans to receive strange religious rites and ceremonies.

Moreover in those days deities were often associated with localities, as the guardians of the soil, and therefore when the Romans in the year 194 B.C. sent a colony to the desolated lands of the Thurians they inquired what deity should be worshipped in a land of wheat and barley. If among the triumvirs were men interested in religious cults, the names of Demeter and Isis would be the first to be considered, and the choice of the Egyptian Isis rather than the Greek Demeter may have been made in order to avoid a cult of the conquered race and bring in a new cult for the new Colony. Isis was identified by the Greeks with Demeter, and Osiris her husband with Dionysus, because Osiris the God of the Nile was reported to have taught the Egyptians the use of the plough, and Isis his wife to have introduced the cultivation of wheat. This Egyptian cult had been long known to the Greeks, and had been established at Corinth, Megara, Phlius, Tithorea, and Troezen.

It had also spread as far as Sicily, and in the coins of Catana the head of Isis appeared as a type. This Egyptian type did not influence the city of Rome until the days of Sulla, and throughout the days of the Republic and the reign of Augustus it was opposed by the authorities of the state as a licentious and immoral cult. Those who wish to see an account of the Greek festivals of Isis will find them described in Pausanias (X, 32), and in Apuleius (Met. lib. XI).

THE BRUTTII

The Bruttians did not begin to coin money bearing their own legends until after their alliance with the Lucanians about 282 B.C. At that time they had become civilized by intercourse and intermarriage with the Greeks whose cities they had conquered, but they had not lost their courage, nor the physical strength inherited from their forefathers. Their prosperity increased after the wars of Pyrrhus, when they submitted to the Roman rule, and their coinage was mostly issued during the period of peace which they enjoyed before the second Punic war began. The story of their rise from barbarism, as told by Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and Justin, is so interesting that extracts from those writers are here given in preference to any general sketch made by combining the various legends.

The region they conquered and inhabited is that mountainous peninsula lying to the south of a line drawn from Laus to Thurium. The earliest Greek writers who described this region called its inhabitants Oenotrians, and Strabo tells us that Pandosia was the residence of their kings. Antiochus, quoted by Strabo, gave the name of Italy to this region, but previously it had been called Oenotria.

The Greeks settled on the east coast at Croton, Caulonia, and Locri, probably as early as the seventh century B.C. and on the west coast at Rhegium, Hipponium, Tempsa, Terma, and Laus. The interior, covered with forests and high mountains, was but thinly inhabited by the Oenotrians, who readily accepted the civilization of the Greek Colonists, and were not strong enough to give them much trouble.

The invasion of the Lucanians soon after the year 390 B.C. was the first serious check to the power of the Greek cities. The Bruttii were descendants of the Lucanians who settled among the Oenotrians of the mountain region. Strabo gives the following account of their origin.

“The nation received its appellation from the Lucani, for they call runaways *bruttii*, and they say that formerly they ran away when employed as shepherds, and that, afterwards, their indepen-

dence was established through the weakness of the Lucani, when Dion was prosecuting a war against the younger Dionysius, and fomented hostilities amongst all" (Lib. VI, p. 255).

Diodorus Siculus gives a similar account of the origin of the Bruttians (lib. XVI, c. xv). In treating of the year 356 B.C. he says: "In this year a multitude of men, gathered from all parts, and largely composed of runaway slaves, came together in Lucania. They had led hitherto the life of brigands, and the habits of living in open camps, and making frequent raids, gave them experience in warfare.

Their power grew through their victories over the inhabitants of the land, and at length they took by assault, and sacked, the city of Terina; then they conquered Hipponium, Thurium, and many others, and established their government in all. In time they received the name of Bruttii, because the greater number of them had been slaves, and because in the language of that country runaway slaves are called by that name. Such is the origin of the race of the Bruttii in Italy. In 324 they besieged Croton, but were repulsed by the citizens aided by the Syracusans."

The account of the Bruttii given by Justin contains more interesting details (liber XXIII, c. 1).

He begins by telling how Agathocles came over from Sicily to Italy, "wherefore the Bruttii were his first enemies, who seemed then the bravest and the wealthiest, and at the same time ever ready to injure their neighbours: for they had driven away the citizens of many Greek cities from the land. They had likewise conquered in war the Lucanians, their own kin, and had made a peace with them upon equal terms. Such was the violence of their tempers that they would not spare those from whom they were descended. For the Lucanians used to educate their children in the same manner as the Spartans. From the commencement of manhood they were kept in the woods among the shepherds, without any attendance of slaves, without any clothes to wear or to lie upon: that from their early years they might be inured to hardness and frugality, without any intercourse with the city. Their meat was game taken in hunting, their drink either milk or spring water. Thus were they hardened for the toils of war. Of these men about fifty at first used to carry off plunder from the lands of their neighbours, these were joined by numbers flocking to them, being tempted by the booty, and when they had grown numerous they infested the country. Wherefore Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily being wearied of the complaints of his allies had sent 600 Africans to quell them, whose castle they took, it being betrayed to them by a woman named Bruttia, and there they built a city.

The shepherds flocking in on account of the fame of this city called themselves Bruttians from the name of the woman. Their first war was with the Lucanians, the people from whom they were descended. After their victory they made peace upon equal terms, and then subdued by their arms the rest of their neighbours. Finally Alexander of Epirus was cut off by them with all his army”.

Justin's account of the origin of the name is very unlikely to have been the true one; the later versions of Justin's legend given by Jornandes (*de Reb. Get.* 30) and by Paulus Diaconus (*Hist.*, II, 17) give to Brettia the dignity of a queen.

Stephanus of Byzantium gave another equally unlikely origin for the name. He derived it from a mythical hero Brettus, a son of Heracles (Βρέττης) by Valentia. Stephanus played upon the name Brundisium in a similar way, and derived that name from one Brentos, a son of Heracles also!

The date at which the name of the Bruttii was generally used is difficult to fix, for Diodorus of Sicily speaks of the Bruttii as having expelled the remainder of the Sybarites who had settled on the river Traens after the destruction of their own city (XII, 22).

This was in 443 B.C., and the usual date given for the rise of the Bruttians into notice and power was 356 B.C., that is nearly a century later, as given by Diodorus himself (XVI, xv).

Stephanus of Byzantium cites Antiochus of Syracuse as using the name Brettia for this part of Italy. The inaccuracy of this writer and his careless use of late legends deprive his evidence of value. It is remarkable, however, that the same authority is quoted by him as stating that Aristophanes used the word βρεττία as an adjective, (μελάνθη γλώσσα βρεττία) thirty years before the date assigned for the rise of the nation. Aristophanes died about 380 B.C. This statement however has not been proved, and seems unlikely.

When we put these legends together we understand how the wars waged by Dionysius and the Lucanians had so weakened the Greek cities that an opportunity was presented for the strong and violent men who roamed the forests of the peninsula to attack the cities and enrich themselves with their spoil. If the word Bruttii was really the word for run-away slaves, and was frankly adopted by them when in power and prosperity, they were doing what others have done in like circumstance, for instance, the “Beggars” of the Netherlands.

The Bruttians first appear as an important military power in the time of the war with Pyrrhus. In the year 281 B.C. the Bruttians took part with him in the defeat of the Romans at Heracleia, and they also fought with Pyrrhus at Ausculum in 279 B.C., but two years afterwards the Romans defeated them near Thurium under C. Fabricius, and a peace was made involving the loss of half the

forest of Sila, which was valued highly for its timber and pitch. During the First Punic war the Bruttii remained at peace, that is from 264-241 B.C. Hamilcar Barca's ravages along the coast affected only the cities along the shore and the main stress of the war was felt in Sicily and on the seas.

The Second Punic war began so disastrously for the Romans that the Bruttians rose again and joined the armies of Hannibal in 216 B.C. after the defeat at Cannæ (Livy, XXII, 61). Petelia and Consentia tried to keep loyal, but were forced to join the revolt, and soon after the Locrians and citizens of Croton followed their example, Rhegium alone holding firmly to the Roman alliance.

In 215 B.C. Hannibal's lieutenant Hanno fled into Bruttium when defeated by Tib. Gracchus.

The wild forest-clad mountains made the land a natural fortress, into which Hannibal retreated after the defeat of Hasdrubal, as we read in the last lines of Livy's book XXVII. Hannibal made his head quarters near Scyllaceum, where a small town received the name *Castra Hannibalis*.

The Bruttians were severely punished by the Romans, refused the right to rank as allies, and pronounced incapable of military service, being only employed in menial occupations. To complete their subjection, Roman colonists were established at Tempesa, Croton, Hipponium and Thurium (Livy, XXXIV, 45; XXXV, 40).

THE GOLD COINS 282-203 B.C.

In the British Museum seven specimens of the gold coins of the Bruttii are preserved; four of the first type and three of the second.

I. Size .6. Weight : 65.2 grains and 65.5.

Obv. Head of Poseidon, diademed, to left; behind, a trident to right; beneath, a bucranium: border of dots.

Rev. **BPETTIQN**. Amphitrite? veiled, and draped, seated to left on a seahorse swimming to right, she holds in her right hand an Eros, drawing his bow to left, in the field to right a bee: border of dots.

The symbols on the other specimens are a cornucopie, a murex, and a star of eight rays.

II. Size .55. Weight : 32.7 and 32.6.

Obv. Head of bearded Heracles to left, wearing lion's skin; behind, a club: beneath Γ: border of dots.

Rev. **BPETTIQN**. (in exergue). A biga to right driven by Nike, the horses galloping; beneath them Γ. and a caduceus to right: border of dots.

On the other specimens the symbols are a serpent coiled, and a thunderbolt.

It is noticeable that the gold coins are rougher in workmanship than the earlier of the silver coinage, and this is unusual, for the dies of the gold coins were generally more carefully prepared than those of the silver.

The date of issue of the gold coins should from their style probably be placed about 250-230 B.C.

The head of Amphitrite on the Reverse is too large in proportion to the figure, and the lettering of the legend is very rough.

The style is very like that of the Roman denarii.

Mr. G. F. Hill, in his work *Historical Roman Coins*, p. 43, dates the Roman gold pieces of 60, 40, and 20 sesterces as belonging to the year 241 B.C., contra Dr Haeberlin, who assigns them to the year 217 B.C. Mr. Hill thinks the special need for this gold issue in 241 B.C. was the payment of the fleet which won the victory at Aegusa. Did the Bruttians help the Romans then, and was their issue of gold a part of this preparation for the close of the first Punic war?

The types of Poseidon and Amphitrite point to a naval object.

SILVER COINS OF THE BRUTTII 282-203 B.C.

I. Size .85. Weight : 86.1 grains or 5.58 grammes.

Obv. Busts of the Dioscuri, to right, wearing chlamydes, and laureate pilei, above, two stars; behind, cornucopiae and Γ : border of dots.



Rev. **BPETTION** (in exergue). The Dioscuri on horseback to right, clad as on Obverse, with their right hands raised, and carrying palms in their left hands; the horses are prancing: above their heads two stars; below, a knotted club to left; in field to left, Γ : plain border.

The workmanship of these coins is Greek and superior to that on the coins of the Romans. They must have been executed in one of the old mint cities of the Greek Colonists, perhaps Locri, as we find the type on coins of that city. This silver coinage of the Bruttii is exceptional as the Romans forbade other cities to issue silver after 268 B.C., when their denarii were issued.

Possibly at Tarentum and Neapolis some silver was also permitted to be coined.

II. Size .8. Weight : 72.4 grains or 4.66 grammes.

Obv. Head of Amphitrite to right, wearing veil, stephanos, ear-ring and necklace; over left shoulder a sceptre; behind, an amphora: border of dots.

Rev. **BPETTIΩN**. Poseidon, naked, stooping to left, his right foot



II. **AR**. Size, .8.

Obv. Head of Amphitrite, &c.

R. Poseidon.

advanced resting on an Ionic capital; in his raised left hand a long sceptre, his right elbow resting on his right knee; in field to left a crab; at his feet Γ : border of dots.

Four varieties differ in the symbols on the Obverse: a bucranium, a dolphin, a fly, a cup; the last three are signed with the letter Γ .

Same style as No. 1. The head of Poseidon too large in proportion and legs too short, faults found however frequently during that period.

Mommsen (*Hist. Rom.*, Vol. I, p. 493), says: "The Bruttian coins stand so entirely in point of artistic treatment on a level with the contemporary coins of Greece that the inscription alone serves to distinguish the one from the other."

III. Size .8. Weight: 58.2, 71.3, 75.6 and 78.3 grains.

Obv. Bust of winged Nike to right, wearing broad diadem, necklace, and earring, her hair bound behind with a fillet: below Γ .

Rev. **BPETTIΩN**: Naked youthful horned figure crowning himself with his right hand, and holding, in his draped left, a long torch; in field to right, a crab and Γ : border of dots.

On other specimens the symbol on Reverse is a thunderbolt, or a rhyton (drinking cup) and Γ , a round buckler, or an incense altar



III. **AR**. Size, .8.

Obv. Bust of winged Nike, &c.

R. Naked youthful horned figure.

and Γ , a serpent erect and Σ , a wreath, the letter Π or Υ or the monogram Δ .

These are similar to the last in style, the figure on the Reverse is rather better in proportion than that of Poseidon.

The horns are the emblems of a river god such as Crathis.

IV. Size .65. Weight: 30.6 or 35.4 grains.

Obv. Head of Apollo, to right, laureate, with flowing hair; behind, an anvil; below, Γ : border of dots.

Rev. **BPETTION**. Artemis standing to left, wearing a short chiton and endromides, and carrying an arrow and flaming torch: at her feet a hound to left looking up, in field to left, a crescent: border of dots.



On another specimen the symbol is a star of eight rays. Similar style to those previously described, but perhaps rather more like that of the Roman denarii.

V. Size .6. Weight: 33.8 grains.

Obv. Head of Pallas to right, wearing earring and necklace, and crested Corinthian helmet on which is a griffin: border of dots.



Rev. **BPETTION**. An eagle standing to left with wings open, on thunderbolt; behind a rudder and Γ : border of dots.

On another specimen there is an owl behind the head on the Obverse.

The Reverse is a well-designed bold type.

The types on these gold and silver coins are interesting as witnessing to the religious influences which affected the Bruttians.

The Dioscuri were regarded as warrior-gods not only by the Greeks but also by the Roman and Italian tribes as early as the year 496 B.C. when the battle of Lake Regillus was fought.

Their appearance among coins bearing the head of Poseidon shews the Graecian origin of their cult among the Bruttii. They were regarded as protectors of seafaring men, for Poseidon had granted them power over the winds and waves (*cf.* Euripides Helen

1495): " May ye come, O sons of Tyndarus, driving your horse-chariot through the sky, under the eddyings of the stars, ye who dwell in heaven, preservers of Helen upon the dark blue wave of the sea, and the cerulean foam of the waves, whitening on the sea, sending to sailors gentle gales of winds from Jove. "

We may also refer to the lines of Horace (Carm. I, III, 2) " so may the bright stars, the brothers of Helen, and so may the father of the winds confining all except Iapyx, direct thee O ship, who art entrusted with Virgil, my prayer is that thou mayst land him safe on the Athenian shore ".

Confer the notes on the introduction of the type of the Dioscuri at Poseidonia by the Lucanians in " *Coins of Magna Graecia* " (pp. 107. 108).

The type of the Bruttians may have been copied from the bronze coins of Locri (cf. p. 234. *Coins of Magna Graecia*, n° 10).

A head of one of the Twin brethren with a star appears also on bronze coins of Neapolis 250-200 B.C. (Cf. p. 300, *Coins of Magna Graecia*, type VIII).

The connection of this type with the influence of Pyrrhus at Tarentum is noted also in the *Coins of Magna Graecia* (pp. 6, 7, 12, 13, 29).

There is however another connection of the Dioscuri with the early Greek Colonies of Bruttium mentioned by Justinus (XX, 2).

" The Spartans not wishing to help the men of Locri bade them ask assistance of Castor and Pollux, nor did the ambassadors despise the answer of their allied city, but going into the next temple and offering sacrifice they implore the assistance of the gods..... they make beds for them on the ship and going with lucky omens they bring comfort instead of assistance to their countrymen. "

" In the wings likewise two young men in different suits of armour from the rest, of an extraordinary bigness, were seen fighting upon white horses, and in red robes, nor did they appear any longer than the battle lasted. "

This battle took place about 520 B.C., and we have in this legend ample reason for the popularity of the cult of the Dioscuri in Bruttium.

The types of Poseidon, Amphitrite, Apollo, and Pallas are witnesses to the thoroughness with which the Bruttians accepted the teaching of the Greeks.

The same may be said perhaps of the type of the nude horned figure on the type no. III of the silver coins. The horns suggest that we have here the figure of a river god. A figure of the river god of the Crathis is found on coins of Pandosia (*Coins of Magna Graecia*, p. 189, 194).

As that river seems to be the most important in Bruttium the river

god on these coins may be considered as the one probably represented on these coins.

BRONZE COINS OF THE BRUTTII.

The deities represented on the bronze coinage of the Bruttii are Apollo, Mars, Bellona, Heracles, Jupiter, Nike, Persephone, Amphitrite, and Pallas.

The marine goddess, and the type of the crab, shew they were issued from a city on the sea shore, probably Croton, because we find that type on the bronze coins of that city (*Coins of Magna Graecia*, no. 9, p. 179).

It is evident that the Bruttians employed Greek artists to engrave their dies, and the art is as good as that in the cities of the Greeks at that period.

BRONZE COINS OF THE BRUTTH.

I. Size 1.1. Obv. Head of Apollo to left, laureate, with flowing hair; behind, an incense altar; below, Γ : plain border.

Rev. **BPETTIΩN** (in exergue). Biga to right, driven by Nike holding whip and reins, the horses galloping; beneath, Γ and thunderbolt : plain border.



II. Size 1.05. Obv. Head of Mars to left wearing crested Corinthian helmet, on which a griffin running; below, a thunderbolt : plain border.

Rev. **BPETTIΩN**. Bellona wearing crested helmet and long chiton with diploëdion, running to right, holding shield with both hands, and spear under her left arm : border of dots.



Specimens with the following symbols on the field to right are in the British Museum : a bunch of grapes, an owl with spread wings, a plough, a thunderbolt, a flaming torch, a lyre and a letter as **B·E·N·** ; on one specimen Bellona carries a palm branch with the spear and a tripod as symbol in field.

Another specimen shews Bellona with head facing and a crab at her feet, and as symbol in field a bucranium, with right horn bent downwards.

Another specimen shews the monogram **Q** at the feet of Bellona, and the bucranium, in field, with the left horn bent downwards.

Another specimen has the monogram **Q** in the field.

COINS WITH MARKS OF VALUE.

III. Size 1.05. Sextans.

Obv. Head of Mars to left similar to no. II, but beneath head an ear of barley, and behind, **Q**.

Rev. **BPETTION** on right side. Nike standing to left wearing a long chiton and diploïdion, holding wreath and palm branch, crowning a trophy consisting of helmet, cuirass, spear, shield, and greaves ; between these a cornucopiæ : border of dots.



The symbols between the figures are varied, as a book, a hexagram, an anchor inverted, bucranium, caduceus, cornucopiæ and crescent with horns upwards. In field, to left of anchor, a monogram **Q**.

IV. Size 1.05. Obv. Head of young Heracles to right, in lion's



skin ; behind, sword, upwards : border of dots.

Rev. **BPETTION**. Bellona, head facing, wearing crested helmet and long chiton with diploëdion, running to right, holding shield with both hands, and spear beneath left arm; in field to right, a plough to left: border of dots.

Varied symbols are found with this type also.

V. Size .8. Head of young Heracles, to right, laureated.

Rev. **BPETTION**. Zeus naked advancing to right grasping thunderbolt in raised right hand, and sceptre in his extended left; at his



feet a small figure running (Artemis?)

VI. Size .5. Obv. Head of young Heracles, to left, in a lion's skin: border of dots.

Rev. **BPETTION** a club to right, and a strung bow, crossed: border of dots.

VII. Size .9. Head of Jupiter, to right, laureated: border of dots.



Rev. **BPETTION**. A naked warrior advancing to right, armed with helmet and lance, and an oblong shield; at his feet a symbol as a pine-torch, a bunch of grapes, bucranium, an owl flying.

VIII. Size .85. Obv. Same as no VII.

Rev. **BRETTION**. An eagle, to left, with wings open; in field to



left, a symbol as, a caduceus, a hexagram, crab and bucranium, or ♂ and bucranium, or thunderbolt upwards, with or without a monogram \mathfrak{B} ; or a crab and thunderbolt upwards, or above left

wing a hammer, or a star of eight rays, and in field to left a cornucopiæ.

IX. Size .9. Obv. Same type as no VII.

Rev. **BPETTIQN**. Eagle, to left, on thunderbolt, wings open ; in field, to left, a hook : border of dots.

Some have no symbol, some have a cornucopiæ, on some above the eagle is a crescent, or a star of eight rays, or an anchor and a monogram **XB**, or a lyre.

X. Size .95. Obv. Same head of Jupiter but with no wreath ; behind the head a branch ? : border of dots.

Rev. **BPET TION**. Eagle, to left, with wings open, looking back ; in field, to left, a plough to left : border of dots.

XI. Size .8. Obv. Head of Nike to left, wearing necklace and earrings, the hair bound with broad diadem, and tied behind with a fillet, having falling ends.

Rev. Same as Rev. of no V.

In field to right a cornucopiæ on some specimens, and in field to left a hammer. On some a star of eight rays, beneath cornucopiæ.

XII. Size .7. Obv. Head of Nike, same as no. XI, but with the upper part of wing appearing : border of dots.

Rev. Jupiter in a biga with horses galloping to left, beneath them a bucranium. The god is hurling a thunderbolt with right hand, a staff and the reins in his left : border of dots.

The symbol is varied, some specimens have an owl, or a bunch of grapes, or a pine-torch, or plough and the letter **Z**, or a lyre.

XIII. Size .6. Obv. Head of Persephone, to left, her hair bound with a corn wreath, and falling behind in a tress ; behind, an ear of barley : border of dots.

Rev. **PBET TION**. A crab ; above a cornucopiæ, and star of eight rays : plain border.

XIV. Size .4. Obv. Head of Persephone, full face towards the right, crowned with corn ?

Rev. **BPET TION**. A crab.

XV. Size .6. Head of Marine goddess (Amphitrite or Thetis), to left, wearing head-dress formed of a crab's shell, the legs standing out above and below : border doubtful.

Rev. **BPET TION**. A crab : plain border.

On some specimens on Obv. a club upwards, or a serpent, behind the head.

The crab type occurs on coins of Terina, Croton, and Cumæ, *Coins of Magna Graecia*, pp. 179, 215, 262, 268, 271.

XVI. Size .6. Obv. Head of Pallas, to left, wearing crested Corinthian helmet, earring, and necklace, her hair falling in a tress bound with a cord.

Rev. **ΒΡΕΤΤΙΩΝ**. An owl, to right, on a bar : border obscure.

On some specimens a bunch of grapes in front of owl, on others a star of eight rays above the owl.

THE BRUTTIAN CITIES.

Three of the towns in Bruttium issued coins bearing as legend the name of the city : Consentia, Nuceria, and Petelia.

The coins however of Consentia were issued before the city was conquered by the Bruttii, those of Nuceria and Petelia were probably issued after the city was in the hands of the Bruttii.

These three cities, founded by the old native, races, were never colonized by the Greeks, although the influence of the Greek artists is seen in the types of their coinage. The deities also represented on the coins are purely Greek. as for instance Artemis at Consentia, Apollo at Nuceria and Demeter at Petelia.

The artistic work of these three mints is probably quite as good as that of the same period in the cities of the Greek Colonists.

CONSENTIA.

On the coins of this city we find only the first three letters of its ancient native name **ΚΩΣ**, and we can only conjecture what it may have been, for the name Consentia is only the Latizined form of an Oenotrian name.

If the **ENT** is part of the original name we may conjecture the Oenotrians called it *Κωσεντιον*, and compare it with Tarentum, Uxentum, Buxentum.

In inscriptions, found at Polla, the name is spelt *Κωσεντιζ* and this also is the spelling of Strabo. The date of the inscriptions found at Polla is not recorded in any work easily seen, so their evidence is valueless for our purpose. Appian and Ptolemy spell the name with **N**, *Κωνσεντιζ*.

The coins of this city are interesting as having been struck before the rise of the Bruttians to power, and while the city was still under its own native government, but as Consentia became the principal seat of the Bruttian government its coinage is also interesting as that used by them. Strabo (Lib. VI, p. 256, Casaub) says: "Next in order comes Cosentia, the metropolis of the Bruttii."

Livy (VIII, 24) tells the story of how Alexander of Epirus fled from the Greek Pandosia and Acheron only to meet his fate in Italy at Pandosia in Bruttium; "after having often defeated the armies of Bruttians and Lucanians, and taken Heraclea, a colony of the Tarentines, Consentia, and Metapontum from the Lucanians, Terina from the Bruttians" ... then follows the story of his death in the Acheron.

During the second Punic War Consentia at first was loyal to the Romans, but was taken by Hamilco. Livy (XXIII, 30) says: "having thus recovered Petilia the Carthaginian general marched his army to Consentia. The place was less obstinately defended, and in a few days he received its submission."

Their more ready submission is just what we should expect from the character given to the citizens by Lucilius, who alludes to them as possessing superior refinement to the rest of the Bruttii and as being more like the Tarentines and Sicilians (apud Cicero *de fin* I. 3.)

Livy describing the events of 213 B.C. says "at the same time

in Bruttium out of twelve communities which in the previous year had gone over to the Carthaginians, two, Consentia and Thurii, returned to their loyalty to Rome ". He then explains why more did not follow their example viz. owing to the stupidity of a bad man named Pomponius Veientanus (Lib. XXV, 1).

Livy also tells us how in the year 206 B.C. the Consul Q. Cæcilius led an army "in Consentinum agrum" and how after the flight of the people "Ea sine certamine tota gens in ditionem populi Romani rediit." The ultimate victory gained in 204 B.C. is briefly related by Livy (XXIX, c. 38) "eadem æstate in Bruttiis Clamptia a consule vi capta, Consentia et Pandosia et ignobiles aliae civitates voluntate in ditionem venerunt."

BRONZE COINAGE OF CONSENTIA BEFORE 350. B.C.

I. Size .75. Obv. Head of Mars to right, wearing crested Corinthian helmet; above O or N.

Rev. ΚΩΣ. A thunderbolt; beneath, three crescents with the horns downwards.

II. Size .75. Obv. A youthful male head to right, crowned with reeds, and having a small horn in front; above O; behind, a crescent.

Rev. ΚΩΣ. A crab, above, two crescents, back to back, vertically placed.

III. Size. 85. Obv. Head of Artemis, to right, her hair bound with a cord passing four times round it.

Rev. A strung bow, string downwards; beneath, a crescent, horns downwards; above, to right, another crescent.

In the British Museum Catalogue there is the mark of question? to this attribution.



ARTEMIS.

Dr. L. R. Farnell in his "Cults of the Greek States" says of Artemis "perhaps no other figure in the Greek Pantheon is so difficult to understand and explain" because the ideas connected with her cult are at first sight confusing and contradictory, "most of her cult is genuinely Hellenic." The cult is found in its most primitive form in Attica, Laconia, and Arcadia.

Dr. Farnell also says "it was more widely spread than that of any other Hellenic goddess, and was established in the Greek Colonies of Sicily especially at Syracuse". Her most primitive cult was that of an independent goddess, connected with the waters, and with wild vegetation and beasts, reflecting in her character the wild life of the primitive men who lived by hunting and fishing rather than by agriculture.

She was *Λιμνῆτις* 'the lady of the lake', and *Ἐλετις*, the goddess of the marsh; and we find her at Syracuse with this character. In Magna Graecia, where Aristaeus and Pan were so popular, it is surprising that Artemis should not have received greater attention than the coins and the literature show to have been given to her.

Her head appears on the coins of Metapontum Æ. no 19 (p. 80, Coins of M. Graecia).

Tarentum Æ. type XI, 212-209 B.C. (ibid., p. 52).

Thurium Æ. no 17 (ibid., p. 128).

Her figure is represented walking and with her dog, on a coin of Thurium no 16.

In the *Hist. Numorum* Dr. B. V. Head says concerning the staters of Syracuse issued before 500 B.C.: "The head in the centre of the Reverse may be assumed to be that of the presiding goddess of the island of Ortygia, Artemis, who is identified with the water nymph Arethusa."

Artemis is represented in the literature connected with Magna Graecia only apparently in the pages of Athenaeus, Theocritus, Pindar, and Diodorus. The first writer speaks of a cup dedicated to Artemis at Capua (lib. XI, § 77, p. 489 A). "And we may to this day see a cup of that fashion at Capua, a city of Campania, consecrated to Artemis, and the Capuans assert that that is the identical cup which belonged to Nestor." Theocritus speaks of a grove of Artemis at Syracuse (II, 66).

Athenaeus also says Artemis was surnamed *Χιτώνη* at Syracuse (p. 629 E).

Pindar in his second Pythian ode speaks of Ortygia the island off Syracuse as "the residence of the river-goddess Artemis".

Diodorus Siculus (V, 3) tells us that Artemis received from the gods the island of Syracusa which oracles and men have named Ortygia from the name of this goddess.

NUCERIA

There were two cities called Nuceria, one in Campania called Nuceria Alfaterna, the coins of which all bear Oscean legends, and the other a city of Bruttium, near Terina, now called Nocera.

It is situated on a hill about four miles from the Tyrrhenian sea, and the mouth of the river Savuto. Considerable remains of an ancient city are still to be seen at Nocera, and by some scholars have been thought to be those of Terina (Millingen, p. 25, *Ancient Coins* and, p. 58 of his *Num. de l'anc. Ital.*).

Stephanus of Byzantium mentions a city called *Nouxpiz* as a city of Tyrrhenia, but he must mean on the Tyrrhenian sea.

BRONZE COIN OF NUCERIA. CIRCA 300 B.C.

Size .85. Obv. Head of Apollo, to right, laureated, beneath, an ear of barley : border of dots.

Rev. **N·YKP INΩN**. A horse standing to left ; beneath, a pentagram : plain border.

Only one type is found in the British Museum.

PERIPOLIUM

In the British Museum Catalogue on p. 398 a silver coin of Peripolium is described under Samnium. It weighs 9.8 grs. and in size it is .45.

Obv. Head of Hera to left wearing stephane, and earring; behind, Æ : border of dots.

Rev. ΠΙΤΑΝΑΤΑΝ
ΠΕΡΙΠΟΛΩΝ

Heracles kneeling to right and strangling the lion with both arms.

Mommsen attributes these coins to Samnium on the strength of a passage in Strabo (V, p. 250).

“It is also said that certain Lacedaemonians came and lived among them (Samnites), and that this is the reason of their affection for the Greeks, and that certain of them are called Pitanaæ.”

The whole of this however appears to be a mere fabrication of the Tarentini interested in flattering and conciliating a neighbouring people so powerful &c.

But no town named Peripolium is known in Samnium.

In the “*Historia Numorum*” Dr B. V. Head says (p. 91) Peripolium was an outpost of the Locrians on the frontier of their territory towards Rhegium.

It appears to have been occupied late in the fourth century (the date of its coins) by a colony of Pitanaæ, presumably from Pitane in Laconia. Peripolium is not mentioned in Smith’s Geographical Dictionary.

Dr B. V. Head has kindly informed me that as two specimens of these coins have been found in Samnium; it is quite likely that Peripolium from which the coins were issued was situated in that region. The types of these early coins are naturally unlike those of the Samnium bronze coins which belong to a later period i. e. after 290 B.C.

We must therefore no longer consider Peripolium as one of the Bruttian cities.

PETELIA

Petelia is situated about twelve miles north of Croton, and three miles from the coast. It was probably looked upon as part of the territory of Croton, and the citizens of Petelia used the coins of that city. Petelia was originally however an ancient stronghold of the Chones, a tribe of the Oenotrians.

The city Chone in the same neighbourhood, and Petelia, are both said to have been founded by Philoctetes after the Trojan war.

Strabo thus describes the city (VI, p. 254, Casaub).

“ Petelia is considered as the metropolis of the Lucani and is still well populated. It owes its foundation to Philoctetes who was compelled to quit Meliboea on account of civil dissensions. Its position is so strong that the Samnites were formerly obliged to construct forts around it for the defence of their territory. ”

Virgil (*Æneid*, III, 400, 481) refers to the same legend : “ Here stands that little city Petilia defended by the walls of Philoctetes, the Meliboean chief. ”

The long note by Servius is interesting but adds nothing of numismatic interest.

Petelia is never mentioned as a Greek city probably because it was regarded as belonging to Croton. When however the Lucanians invaded the land, about 368 B.C., Petelia fell into their hands, and became their principal stronghold in the South. Petelia first became conspicuous in the second Punic War, when the citizens remained faithful to the Romans in 216 B. C. although the Bruttians threw off their allegiance. The city was besieged by the Bruttians, and by Hamilco, and was abandoned to its fate by the Romans.

Livy tells the story (XXIII, 20) of how the envoys from Petelia who came to ask help in Rome were moved to tears when assured that it was beyond the power of Rome to give them help. In another chapter (30) Livy describes the siege, etc. its horrors, famine reduced their strength so that they could not lift their arms : from the same passage we learn that Croton was invested by a Bruttian army, and fell, being defended by only 2000 citizens of all ages ; these however

were not pure Greeks, for the old Greek city had been destroyed 152 years before.

The loyalty of the Petelians was recorded by Valerius Maximus who concluded with a striking sentence. "Itaque Annibali non Petelliam, sed fidei Petellinæ sepulchrum capere contigit." (Lib. VI, c. vi).

(So it came to pass that Hannibal did not take Petelia but the grave of Petelian fidelity).

Silius Italicus introduces a legend also noted by Servius

Fumabat versis incensa Petilia intectis
Infelix fidei, miseræque secunda Sagunto
At quondam Herculeam servare superba pharetram.
(Lib. XII, 431, p. 366, ed. Nisard.)

He notices how once the old city was proud of preserving the quiver of Heracles. Appian (Annib. 29) records that those citizens who escaped were restored by the Romans, and we have seen that Strabo was able to call it well populated.

From inscriptions discovered on the site we learn that the city prospered during the Roman Empire. The modern name of the town on the old site is Strongoli and it is said to contain 7000 inhabitants, but it contains no ruins of the old city besides the inscriptions and minor objects of antiquity. Confer Lenormant "La grande Grèce", p. 383 ssq.

COINS OF PETELIA CIRCA. 250-200 B.C.

Quadrans.

I. Size .65. Obv. Head of Jupiter, to right, laureated; behind \odot : border of dots.

Rev. **ΠΕΤΗΛΙ ΝΩΝ**. Jupiter standing to right naked, hurling thunderbolt, and holding sceptre; behind, a monogram \boxtimes : plain border.

Oncia.

II. Size .6. Obv. Head of Mars, to right, wearing a crested Corinthian helmet; border of dots.



Rev. **ΠΕΤΗΛΙ ΝΩΝ**. A wreath-bearing Nike, standing to left.

COINS WITHOUT MARKS OF VALUE.

III. Size .45. Obv. Head of bearded Heracles, to right, wearing wreath : border of dots.

Rev. ΠΕΤΗ
ΛΙΝΩΝ a club, to left.

IV. Size .8. Obv. Head of Demeter, to right, wearing veil and wreath of barley : border of dots.

Rev. ΠΕΤΗΛΙΝΩΝ. Jupiter, naked, facing and standing to left,



hurling thunderbolt, and holding sceptre ; in field to left a star of six rays : in field to right Η or Θ or Κ or Λ.

The star sometimes has only five rays.

Uncertain city of Apulia.

Bronze coin of Side or Sidis.

Size .55. Obv. Head of Zeus, to right, laureated, behind, an ear of barley : border of dots

Rev. ΣΙΔΙΝΩΝ. Heracles, to right, leaning on his club which rests under his left shoulder, from which hangs his lion-skin : plain border.

A similar type is found on the uncia of Mateola described above among the coins of that city.

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Note there are no less than eighty-eight different types on this series of coins, among which thirty divinities are represented.

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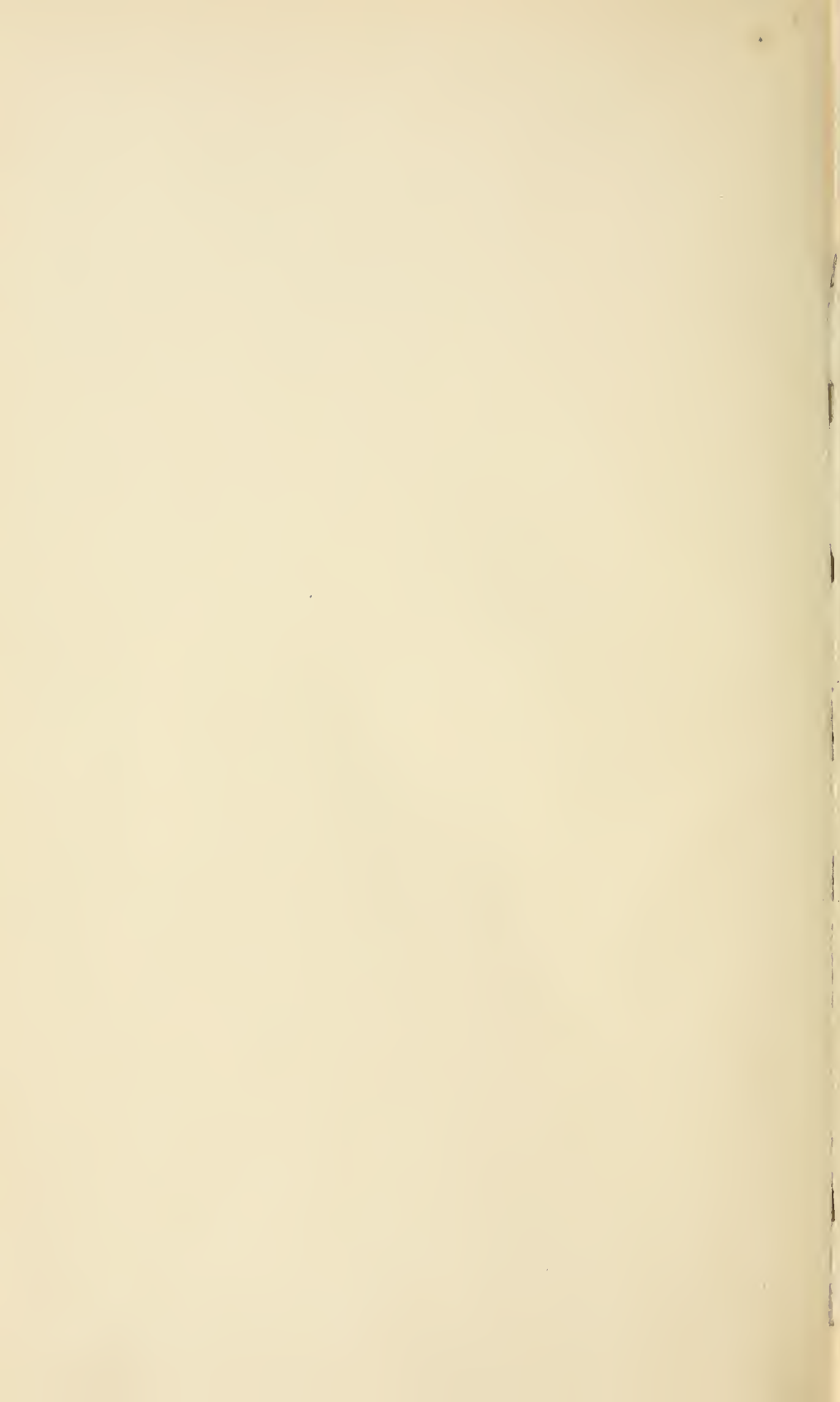
ERRATA

Page 89, line 7 : derived, but..... *read* : derived; but.....

Page 121, line 7 : to the bay formed by the headland Urias
Sinus..... *read* : to the bay Urias Sinus.

Page 151, line 14 : (about 1323 B.C.)..... *read* : (about 1100
B.C.).....

Page 163, line 17 : Kramer prefers Оѣрѣх..... *read* : Kramer
prefers Оѣрѣх.....







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